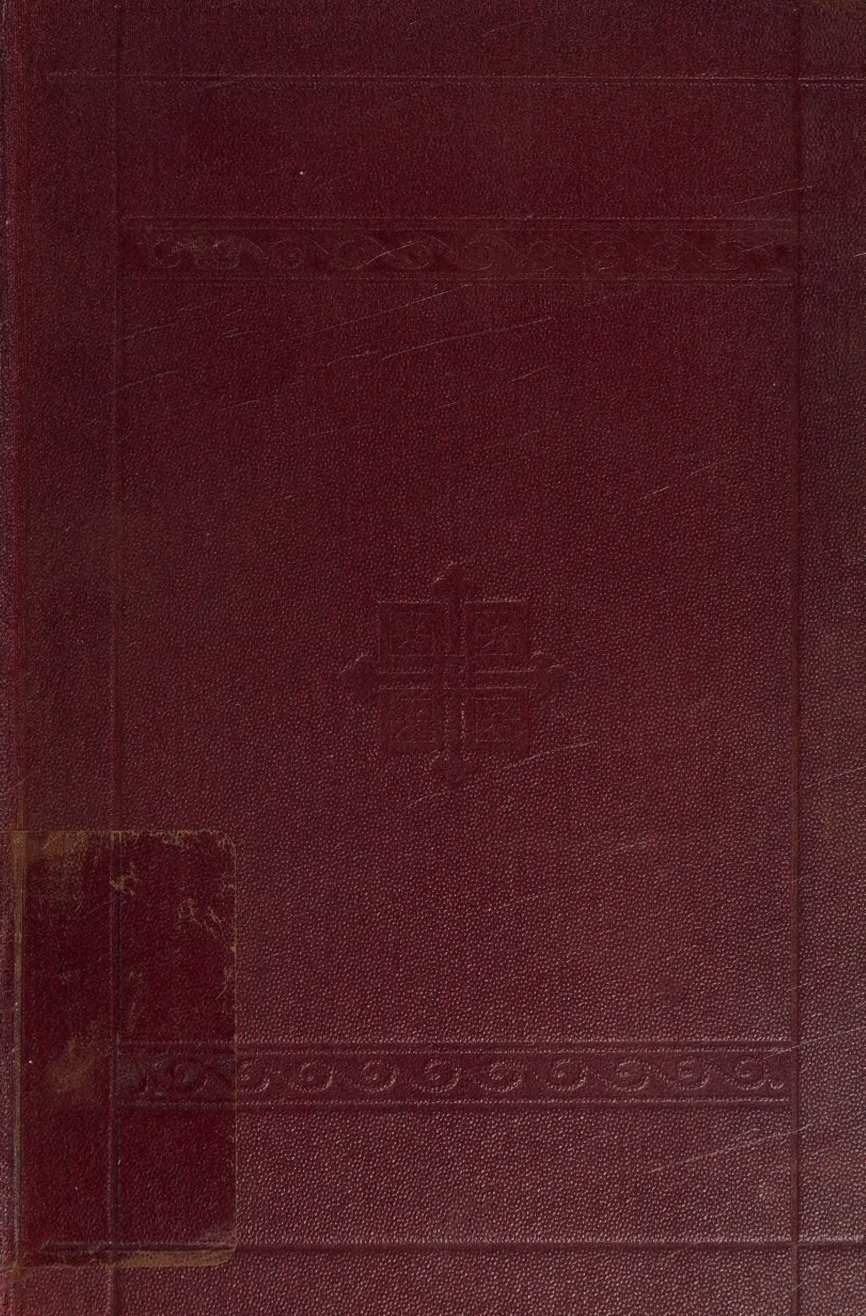

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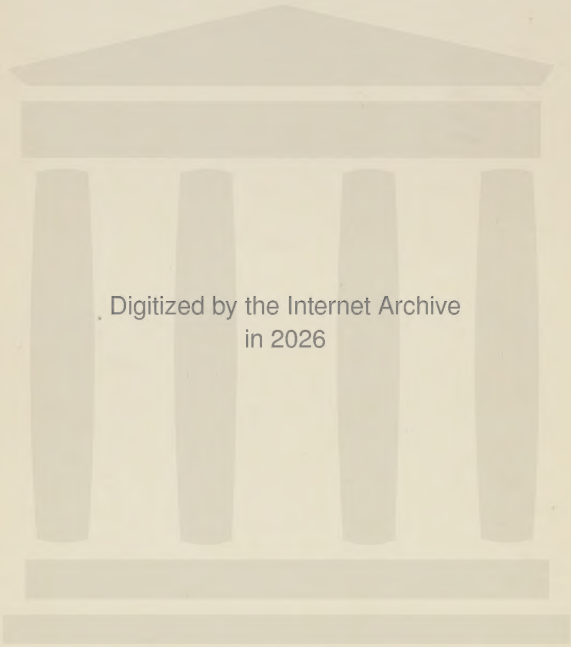
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# HISTORY

OF THE

# CHRISTIAN CHURCH

FROM THE APOSTOLIC AGE TO THE REFORMATION.

A.D. 64-1517.

BY JAMES C. ROBERTSON, M.A.,

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| 457. | Majorian | 461 |
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| 565. | Justin II. | 578 |
| 578. | Tiberius II. | 582 |
| 582. | Maurice | 602 |
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| 610. | Heraclius | 641 |
| 641. | Constantine III. | 641 |
| | Heracleonas | 641 |
| 641. | Constans II. | 668 |
| 668. | Constantine IV. (Pogonatus) | 685 |
| 685. | Justinian II. | 695 |
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| A.D. | | A.D. |
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| 649. Martin I. | | 653 |
| 654. Eugenius I. | | 657 |

| A.D. | | A.D. |
|---|---|---|
| 657. Vitalian | to | 672 |
| 672. Adeodatus | | 676 |
| 676. Donus | | 678 |
| 678. Agatho | | 681 |
| 682. Leo II. | | 683 |
| 683. Benedict II. | | 685 |
| 685. John V. | | 686 |
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| 705. John VII. | | 707 |
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| 708. Constantine I. | | 715 |
| 715. Gregory II. | | 731 |

# HISTORY

OF

# THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

## BOOK II.

FROM CONSTANTINE TO THE DEATH OF THEODOSIUS THE GREAT, A.D. 313-395.

### CHAPTER VI. (CONTINUED).

#### IV. *Monasticism.*

THE monastic life received a vast impulse during the fourth century. As the profession of Christianity was no longer a mark of separation from the mass of men, some further distinction appeared necessary for those who aspired to a higher life. Moreover, with the cessation of persecution the opportunities of displaying heroism in confession and martyrdom had ceased.[a] Hence many persons, seeing the corruption which was now too manifest in the nominally Christian society, and not understanding that the truer and more courageous course was to work in the midst of the world and against its

[a] Giesel. I. ii. 235.

evil, thought to attain a more elevated spirituality by withdrawing from mankind and devoting themselves to austerity of life and to endeavours after undisturbed communion with heaven.[b]

Paul, who has been mentioned[c] as the first Christian hermit, spent his life, from twenty-three to a hundred and thirteen, in the desert, without contemporary fame or influence.[d] In the year of his retirement, A.D. 251, the more celebrated Antony was born of Christian parents at Coma, a village in the Thebaid.[e] We are told by his biographer (who, if he was not himself the great Athanasius, is supposed to have written under his influence) that in boyhood and youth Antony showed a thoughtful and religious character. He had learnt to read and write his native Coptic, but never acquired even the alphabet of Greek,[f] and was unable to speak that language.[g] Before reaching the age of twenty he lost his parents, and came into possession of a considerable property. One day he was struck by hearing in church the gospel of the rich young man, who was charged to

[b] Guizot, ii. 18; Neand. iii. 322; Ritter, v. 80.

[c] Vol. i. 136.

[d] His life was written by St. Jerome (Patrol. xxiii; Acta SS., Jan. 10). Antony, it is said, is warned, at the age of ninety, that a solitary more perfect than himself has been living ninety years in the desert. He sets out in quest of him; meets on the way a centaur and a satyr, the latter of whom requests his prayers; finds Paul; is cared for by ravens, which for sixty years had fed the elder hermit, and now bring daily a double allowance of provisions. After the death of Paul, Antony sees his soul borne upwards by angels "to the choir of prophets and apostles," and, with the help of two lions, buries his body. Neander (iii. 324) is inclined to question the whole story of Paul, and it is remarkable that the earlier hermit is not mentioned in the Life of Antony.

[e] Vita, 1. The biography of Antony, ascribed to St. Athanasius, seems to be more generally regarded as interpolated than as spurious, or perhaps as written under the superintendence of Athanasius, rather than by himself. (Schröckh, v. 146; viii. 234-6; Fabric. viii. 187-8; Giesel. I. ii. 408.) Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. 21, t. i. p. 388) and Nicephorus (Hist. Eccl. viii. 40) say that Athanasius, under the form of a narrative, laid down a code for monastic life. Comp. Acta SS., Jan. 17; Möhler, Athan. ii. 90; Montalemb. i. 143. The writings ascribed to Antony (mostly translations from the Arabic version) are in Patrol. Gr. xl.

[f] Soz. i. 13; Tillem. vii. 307; Neand. iii. 324-5.

[g] Vita, 2-3.

sell all that he had, give to the poor, and follow the Saviour, that he might have treasure in heaven. Antony forthwith made over his land to the inhabitants of his village, turned the rest of his estate into money, and bestowed all on the poor, except a small portion which he reserved for the maintenance of his only sister.[h] On another occasion he was impressed in like manner by the words, "Take no thought for the morrow," and, in order to fulfil the command, he parted with the remainder of his property, committed his sister to a society of religious virgins, and embraced an ascetic life.[i]

At first he took up his abode near his own village; for, says his biographer, such was then the practice of those who desired to live religiously, when as yet there were no monasteries in the desert. He laboured with his own hands, and gave away all that he could spare from his necessities.[k] He visited all the most famous ascetics whom he could hear of—endeavouring to learn from each his distinguishing virtue, and to combine all their graces in his own practice. After a time he shut himself up in a tomb, from which he removed, ten years later, to a ruined castle near the Red Sea.[l] But, although he continually increased his mortifications,[m] he found that temptation followed him from one retreat to another. He fancied himself beset by devils in all manner of frightful shapes, and at other times by worldly thoughts or by sensual enticements.[n] The noise of his conflicts with the enemy was heard by those who passed by his dwelling; more than once he was found almost dead from the chastisement which had been inflicted on him

A.D. 275.

A.D. 285.

[h] Vita, 2.
[i] Ib. 3.
[k] Ib. 4.
[l] Ib. 8, 12.
[m] Ib. 7.
[n] Ib. 5-9, 39, 41. His account of the devil's illusions (22-43) is remarkable His rule for dealing with visions was—Ask, "Who art thou, and whence?" If the visitor be holy, he will tell; if not, your firmness will perplex and weaken him. c. 43.

by his ghostly assailants.[o] Antony became famous; many persons made pilgrimages to see him; and after having spent twenty years in his castle, without either leaving its walls or admitting any one within them, he went forth and received disciples, who settled around him, studding the desert with their cells.[p]

A.D. 305.

The persecution under Maximin drew Antony to Alexandria, where he attended on the sufferers, and in every possible way exposed himself to death; but when the heat of the danger had passed over, he concluded that the crown of martyrdom, to which he had aspired, was not intended for him, and, wishing to escape from the oppressiveness of the admiration which waited on him, he sought out, under the guidance of some Saracens, who were miraculously thrown in his way, a solitude more remote than that in which he had before lived.[q] His abode was now a cave in the side of a lofty mountain, with a supply of cool water and the shade of a few palm-trees beside it; he cultivated a small patch of corn and vegetables, that he might be able not only to spare others the labour of supplying him with bread, but to furnish something for the refreshment of visitors. The beasts of the desert, in resorting to the water, damaged his crops; but he gently laid hold of one, and said to them, "Why do you injure me, when I do you no hurt? Depart, and, in the name of the Lord, come hither no more!" and his charge was obeyed.[r] The more Antony withdrew from the world, the more eagerly was he followed. Multitudes flocked to him, and imitators of his manner of life arose in great numbers.[s] He reconciled enemies, comforted mourners, and advised in spiritual concerns.

A.D. 312.

[o] Vita, 8, 13, 52.
[p] Ib. 13-15, 44.
[q] Ib. 46-8.
[r] Ib. 49-50.
[s] Ib. 62, 84.

His interposition was often requested in behalf of the oppressed, and was never exerted in vain.[t] When any such business had drawn him to leave his cell, he returned as soon as possible: "A monk out of his solitude," he said, "is like a fish out of water."[u] Constantine and his sons sought his correspondence, entreated his prayers, and invited him to their courts; but, instead of being elated by the honour, he said to his disciples, "Marvel not if the emperor writes to us, since he is a man; but rather marvel that God hath written his laws for men, and hath spoken them to us by his Son."[x] In the Arian controversies, Antony and his monks were steady and powerful supporters of orthodoxy. He wrote to Constantine, urging the recall of Athanasius from his first exile, and received an answer expressed in terms of high respect.[y] In order to aid the orthodox cause, he paid a second visit to Alexandria, where his appearance made even a greater impression than before, and many pagans were converted in consequence.[z] He was favoured with visions and revelations for the comfort of the brethren in the faith; and in cases of doubt he prayed for direction, and received instructions from above.[a] Innumerable miracles were ascribed to him, and he supposed himself to work them, but was free from all pride on account of the gift.[b] His ghostly enemies still continued their assaults, and philosophers frequently attacked him, in the hope of turning his illiteracy into ridicule; but the firmness of his faith, together with his natural shrewd-

[t] Vita, 87.

[u] Ib. 85.

[x] Ib. 81; Rufin. i. 9.

[y] Soz. ii. 31.

[z] Vita, 68-71. Tillemont (vii. 670, viii. 143, 696) and M. de Broglie (iii. 312), date this in 355, just before the expulsion of Athanasius by Syrian; Neander (iii. 330), in 350; Guericke (i. 384), in 325; others, from 330 to 335. The index to the 'Festal Letters' places it in 388, immediately after the return of Athanasius from his first exile. xviii.

[a] Vita, 66, 82

[b] Ib. 14, 38, &c.

ness, gave him the victory alike over men and demons.[c] Severe as his habits were, he had nothing of the savageness which became too common among his followers; he well understood the dangers of the solitary life, and was earnest in warning against a reliance on the mere outward form of monachism.[d]

Antony lived to the age of a hundred and five, and died a few days before Athanasius sought a refuge among the monks of the desert in 356. Of his two sheepskins he bequeathed one to the bishop of Alexandria, and the other to Serapion, bishop of Thmuis. A cloak, the gift of Athanasius, which had been worn for many years, was to be restored to the donor, and the hermit's garment of hair-cloth fell to two disciples who had long been his especial attendants. He charged these disciples to bury him in a place unknown to all but themselves, lest his remains should be embalmed and kept above ground—a manner of showing reverence to deceased saints which he had often endeavoured to suppress.[e]

The cœnobitic system—that of ascetics living in a community—originated with Pachomius, who was, like Antony, a native of the Thebaid. The founder was born in 292, was converted to Christianity, and practised rigid austerities under the direction of a solitary named Palæmon, until he was visited by an angel, who told him that, as he had made sufficient progress in the monastic life, he must now become a teacher of others, and gave him a code of rules, written on a brazen tablet, which the disciples of Pachomius professed to have in their

[c] Vita, 51, 72.

[d] See his address to the monks, 'Vita,' cc. 16-43, and a shorter discourse, c. 55.

[e] Ib. 90-1. Rohrbacher wishes us to believe that Antony's injunction proceeded solely from an objection to the Egyptian practice of embalming (vi. 417); but it is clear that he objected to all interference with the repose of the body in the grave. It is said that in the reign of Justinian the body was discovered by revelation, and that it was eventually removed to Vienne.

possession.[f] Pachomius then instituted a society in an island of the Nile called Tabenne, which had been indicated to him by a voice from heaven.[g] The brotherhood was soon extended, so that before the founder's death it embraced eight monasteries, with 3,000 inmates (of whom 1,400 were in the mother-establishment): and in the beginning of the following century the whole number of monks was not less than 50,000.[h]

The monks lived in cells, each of which contained three.[i] They were under engagements of absolute obedience to the commands of a chief, who was called *abbot* (from a Syriac word signifying *father*), or *archimandrite* (from the Greek μάνδρα, a *sheepfold*).[k] Under him each of the monasteries was governed by a head of its own, and the chief abbot from time to time made a circuit of visitation.[l] The whole society assembled at the mother monastery twice every year—at the Easter festival and in the month of August.[m] The monks were, by direction of the brazen tablet, divided into twenty-four classes, which

Acta SS., Jan. 17, pp. 514, seqq.; Tillem. vii. 133-4.

[f] Vita Pachom. 6-12, 21-2, in book i. of Rosweyd's 'Vitæ Patrum' (Patrol. lxxiii.); Soz. iii. 14.

[g] Vita, 12. There is a variety of reading between Ταβέννη νήσῳ (*the island of Tabenne*), and Ταβεννήσῳ (*Tabennesus*, which is supposed to be a village), in Soz. iii. 14, p. 112. Valois prefers the latter. It would seem that the original settlement was on the island, and that the name of this was "afterwards transferred to the great monastery of Bau or Pabau" (Gibbon, iii. 344). Tillemont (vii. 174) puts the foundation of the society about 325; so Schröckh (v. 162); but Gieseler's date (I. ii. 230) is about 340.

[h] Hieron. Præf. in Regul. Pachom. 7; Palladius, Hist. Lausiaca 38 (a book on the monastic life addressed to one Lausus, of which the Greek is in Patrol. Gr. xxxiv., and a Latin translation is given both there and in Rosweyd., l. x., Patrol. Lat. lxxiii.); Tillem. vii. 177; Neand. iii. 335.

[i] The observances of the order are gathered partly from the account of the brazen tablet, in the Life, c. 22; partly from St. Jerome's translation of the Rule of Pachomius. (Patrol. xxiii.). See also the 'Precepts' ascribed to Pachomius, Patrol. Gr. xl. 947, seqq.

[k] Gibbon, iii. 348; Neand. iii. 349; Giesel. I. ii. 230. The title of abbot was also often given to other monks, especially to such as were distinguished for age or sanctity. Ducange, s. v. *Abbas*, p. 19.

[l] Tillem. vii. 179; Neand. iii. 335.

[m] Hieron. Præf. 7; Fleury, xx. 9; Tillem. vii. 178.

took their names from the Greek alphabet, and were arranged according to the characters of the individuals: thus the simplest were in the class which bore the name of the letter I, while the more knowing were ranked under the letters of more complicated form.[n] A strict community of all things was enforced, so that it was considered as a serious breach of discipline to speak of "my" coat, or book, or pen.[o] The monks employed themselves in agriculture, basket-weaving, rope-making, and other kinds of industry. The produce of their labour was carried down the Nile in boats belonging to the society, and manned by monks; and the money which it fetched in the markets at Alexandria was not only enough for their own support, but enabled them to perform works of charity.[p] They prayed many times a day,[q] fasted on the fourth and sixth days of the week, and communicated on

[n] Vita, 22; Soz. iii. 15.

[o] Cassian. de Cœnob. Instit. iv. 13. This was a general feature of monachism. St. Jerome (Ep. xxii. 33) tells a story of one of the Nitrian monks, "rather saving than avaricious," who left at his death a hundred *solidi*, which he had earned by weaving flax. The brotherhood, about 5,000 in number, held a consultation as to the disposal of the money. Some were for giving it to the poor; some, to the church; others, to the relatives of the deceased. But the fathers of the society, "Sancto in eis loquente Spiritu," quoted the text—"Thy money perish with thee!" and ordered that it should be buried with its owner. Jerome adds, that this was not done out of harshness towards the deceased monk, but in order to deter others from hoarding. A more remarkable tale of the same kind may be found in Gregory the Great's Dialogues, iv. 55 (Patrol. lxxvii.). See too the Autobiography of Guibert, abbot of Nogent, in the twelfth century, i. 22 (ib. clvi.) and the Life of Peter of Cluny, c. 9 (ib. clxxxix.). Innocent III. writes in 1202 to the abbot of Subiaco:—"Quod si proprietas apud quemquam inventa fuerit in morte, ipse cum ea in signum perditionis extra monasterium in sterquilinio subterretur, secundum quod beatus Gregorius narrat in Dialogo se fecisse." Ep. v. 82 (ib. ccxiv.).

[p] Cassian. de Cœn. Inst. x. 22. Rufinus says that the Egyptian monks used to labour for hire in harvest, and to give their earnings to the poor. Hist. Monach. 18.

[q] Sozomen's account of the number of times (iii. 14) is not clear, and puzzles Valois (n. in loc.) and Tillemont (vii. 183, 683). In the life of Pachomius it is related that the angel prescribed twelve prayers during the day, twelve in the evening, and twelve in the night; and, on the abbot's expressing surprise at the smallness of the number, told him that the rule was drawn out for the weaker brethren, and that the more perfect would, of their own accord, go beyond it (22). Cassian tells us that the Egyptian monks, instead of

the Sabbath and on the Lord's day.[r] Their meals were taken in common—each being preceded by psalmody. They ate in silence, and with their hoods drawn over their faces, so that no one might see his neighbours, or anything but the fare set before him.[s] The heavenly rule was not stringent as to the quantity of food—ordaining only that each monk should labour in proportion to his eating; but most of them carried their abstinence beyond the letter of its requirements.[t] The sick were tended with remarkable care.[u] The monks had a peculiar dress,[x] the chief article of which was a goatskin, in imitation of Elijah, who was regarded as a pattern of the monastic life.[y] They were never to undress, except that at communicating they unloosened their girdles. They slept with their clothes on, and in chairs so constructed as to keep them almost in a standing posture.[z]

Pachomius had a sister, whom the fame of his institution induced to visit Tabenne. On being informed of her arrival, the abbot desired the porter of the monastery to beg that she would be content with the assurance of his welfare; and to inform her that, if she were disposed to imitate his manner of life, he would cause a monastery to be provided for her at a distance from him. This message had the effect which Pachomius intended; the monastery was built for his sister by monks from Tabenne; and in a short time she found herself abbess of a large

observing stated hours of devotion in the day-time, were continually employed in prayers and psalmody while at their work (De Cœn. Inst. iii. 2). On the different rules of monastic societies in this respect, see Gieseler, I. ii. 231.

[r] Hieron. Præf. ad Regul. Pachom. 5; Soz. iii. 14.

[s] Vita, 22; Cass. de Cœn. Inst. iv. 18; Soz. iii. 14.

[t] Vita, 22.

[u] Hieron. Præf. 5: Regul. Pachom. 40-7.

[x] The rule of Pachomius—unlike some later rules—is very particular on the subject of washing the monks' linen. See the sections 67-72, 148.

[y] Hieron. Præf. 64; Soz. iii. 14; Giesel. I. ii. 238-9.

[z] Vita, 22; Pallad. Hist. Lausiaca 38. But the 88th rule speaks of sleeping on *mats*.

community of women, regulated by a code which her brother had framed on the model of his own, and subject to his orders, although he never personally visited it.[a] After this first example the formation of such societies was rapid—the female recluses being styled *nuns*—a title of uncertain derivation and meaning.[b] Pachomius died in 348.[c]

About the same time when Pachomius established his order at Tabenne, the elder Macarius[d] took up his abode in the desert of Scetis—a vast solitude near the Libyan frontier of Egypt[e]—and Ammon settled on the Nitrian or Nitre mountain. Around these chiefs were soon gathered large numbers of monks, living in separate cells, which either were solitary or were grouped together in clusters called *lauræ*.[f] The monks met on the first and last days of the week for public worship; if any one were absent it was concluded that he must be sick, and some of the brethren were sent to visit his cell. Except on such occasions they never spoke. The Nitrian monks were reckoned to be about 5,000 in the end of the century.[g]

The monastic system was speedily extended beyond the borders of Egypt. In Syria it was introduced by A.D. 306-356. Hilarion, a pupil and imitator of Antony, who lived fifty years in the desert near

[a] Vita, 28.

[b] In Greek *νονίς*; in Latin, *nonna*. Suicer does not give any derivation. The word appears to be of Egyptian origin, and is variously interpreted—*sancta, casta, quæ non est hujus sæculi*. The masculine *nonnus* was also used. St. Benedict says in his Rule (c. 63. Patrol. lxvi.), "Juniores autem priores suos *nonnos* vocent; quod intelligitur *paterna reverentia*." See Ducange, s. v. *Nonnus*; Giesel. I. ii. 247; Herzog, art. *Nonne*.

[c] Tillem. vii. 197; See Patrol. Gr. xxiv. 436-7.

[d] So called for the sake of distinction from another celebrated monk, his contemporary. For information as to both, and for the works ascribed to them, see Patrol. Gr. xxxiv.

[e] Tillem. viii. 577-9, 806; Schröckh, viii. 290.

[f] See Acta SS., Jan. t. ii. 662. Λαύρα meant a *street*, and the word was also used to designate the parishes of Alexandria. Epiph. lxix. 1.

[g] Soz. iv. 31; Tillem. vii. 154, 159, 160; viii. 577; Neand. iii. 334; Giesel I. ii. 230.

Gaza.[h] In Mesopotamia it was eagerly welcomed, and derived especial lustre from the genius and piety of the mystic St. Ephrem.[i] Eustathius bishop of Sebaste established monasteries in Armenia,[k] and, as has been already mentioned, St. Basil organized societies of cœnobites in Pontus and Cappadocia.[l] Athanasius, on his visit to Rome in 340, was accompanied by some Egyptian monks, who were the first that were seen in the west. Their wild and rude appearance excited the disgust of the Romans, but with many this feeling was soon exchanged for reverence. The profession of religious celibacy found votaries among the younger ladies of the capital, and among the earliest of these who embraced it was Marcellina, the sister of St. Ambrose.[m] The zeal with which Ambrose, after becoming a bishop, advocated the cause of celibacy, may perhaps have been in some measure prompted by his sister. He wrote treatises on the subject, maintaining that young women ought to embrace the virgin life in defiance of the will of their parents, and fortifying his argument by tales of judgments which had befallen persons who dared to dissuade their relatives from such a course.[n] He extolled virginity in his sermons — even (as he says) to the weariness of his hearers. The matrons of his city endeavoured to preserve their daughters from the fascination of these discourses by forcibly keeping them at home; but crowds of virgins from other quarters—some of them even from Mauritania—flocked to seek consecration at the hands of

[h] Soz. iii. 14. There is a life of St. Hilarion by St. Jerome (Patrol. xxiii.) with many miraculous stories. As to his habits, we are told "Capillum semel in anno die Paschæ totondit; super nudam humum stratumque junceum usque ad mortem cubitavit. Saccum quo semel fuerat indutus numquam lavans; et superfluum esse dicens munditias in cilicio quærere. Nec mutavit alteram tunicam nisi cum prior penitus scissa esset."—c. 10.

[i] Soc. iii. 16.

[k] Soz. iii. 14; Schröckh, v. 166-7.

[l] See Broglie, v. 168.

[m] Hieron. Ep. lxxvii. 5; Baron. 340. 7; Gibbon, iii. 344; Schröckh, xiv. 161; Möhler, ii. 86.

[n] De Virginib. i. 11.

the bishop of Milan.[o] The little islands on the coasts of Italy and Dalmatia became sprinkled with monasteries and cells.[p] St. Martin, who had lived as a monk in the island of Gallinaria, introduced monasticism into Gaul, built religious houses near Poitiers and Tours, and was followed to his grave by two thousand of the brethren.[q] In Africa monasticism made less progress than elsewhere. It did not obtain any footing until it was introduced by St. Augustine, within the last ten years of the century; nor was the authority of that great bishop, or even the example which he gave by living in cœnobite fashion with his clergy, sufficient to attract to the monastic life any but persons of the lower ranks. Salvian, about the year 450, witnesses that it still continued to be unpopular in Africa, and that monks were objects of persecution in that country.[r]

The rules and habits of the monastic societies differed according to circumstances, and according to the judgment of their founders. Industrial occupations —such as field-labour, building, weaving, or the manufacture of nets, baskets, and sandals—were generally prescribed in the east, and Augustine wrote a treatise against those monks who wished to be exempt from these employments.[s] But St. Martin regarded such things as likely to become hindrances to devotion, and would allow no other manual work than that the younger brethren should transcribe books.[t] The monks of Gaul, indeed,

[o] De Virginib. i. 10.

[p] Baron. 398. 49-52; Giesel. I. ii. 251.

[q] "Processu pelagi jam se Capraria tollit:
Squalet lucifugis insula plena viris.
Ipsi se monachos Græco cognomine dicunt
Quod soli nullo vivere teste volunt.
Munera fortunæ metuunt, dum damna verentur;
Quisquam sponte miser, ne miser esse queat?" etc.
*Rutil. Numatianus de Reditu suo*, i. 439, *seqq.*

[r] Sulp. Severus, Vita Martini: Ep. 3; Soz. iii. 14.

[r] Possid. Vita Aug. v., xi.; Salv. de Gubern. Dei, viii. 4 (Patrol. liii.); Tillem. xiii. 193-9, 226-8; Schröckh, viii. 379-80; xv. 288, 328; Guizot, ii. 64; Giesel. I. ii. 253; Bindemann, 'Augustinus,' iii. 7-12, 22, seqq.

[s] De Opere Monachorum (Patrol. xl.). See as to St. Basil, De Broglie, v. 143.

[t] Sulp. Sev. Vita Martini, 10; Schröckh, viii. 217, 245.

having ample employment for their energies in combating the idolatry and superstition of the barbarians among whom they were placed, did not need to have their hours relieved from vacancy in the same manner as the inhabitants of the Egyptian or Syrian deserts.[u] As to food and clothing, also, the varieties of climate were considered. "A large appetite," says Martin's biographer, "is gluttony in Greeks, but in Gauls it is nature."[x]

Pachomius required a probation of three years before admission into his order,[y] and a similar rule was adopted in other societies. There was as yet no vow exacted at entrance, although St. Basil suggests that a formal profession should be required;[z] nor was the profession of monasticism irrevocable, for, although withdrawal was a subject for penance, it was yet in some cases even recommended as the safest course.[a]

All the chief teachers of the age, both in the east and in the west, vied with each other in the praise of celibacy and monasticism.[b] St. Jerome, in particular—the most learned man of his day, who may be regarded as the connecting link between the eastern and the Latin divisions of the church—exercised a powerful influence in the promotion of monachism, and the story of his life belongs in great part to the general history of the subject.

This celebrated teacher of the church—in whom we see extraordinary intellectual gifts and a sincere zeal for the service of Christ strangely combined with extravagance of opinion and conduct, greediness of power and authority, pride, vanity, violent irritability, and extreme bitterness of temper[c]—was born of Christian

[u] Beugnot, i. 304.

[x] Sulp. Sev. Dialog. i. 8; Mosh. i. 306; Giesel. I. ii. 253.

[y] Vita, 22.

[z] Ep. cxcix. 19. "L'usage général des vœux perpétuels remonte à Saint Basile." Broglie, v. 181.

[a] Soz. iii. 14; Bingh. VII. iii. 7, 22; Schröckh, viii. 277-8; Giesel. I. ii. 247.

[b] Schröckh, v. 167-8; viii. 233; Theiner, c. xi.; Giesel. I. ii. 249.

[c] Tillemont's Life of St. Jerome (vol. xii.) opens with a prefatory chapter on

parents at Stridon, on the borders of Pannonia and Dalmatia.[d] He studied at Rome under Donatus, the commentator on Virgil, and, after having reached manhood, felt himself called to a religious life, and was baptized.[e] After having travelled in Gaul and other countries, he withdrew in 374 to the desert of Chalcis, eastward of Syria,[f] where he entered on a course of the most violent mortifications. But the impulses of sensuality, to which he confesses that he had yielded before his baptism,[g] revived in the solitude where he had hoped to find freedom from temptation. He strove against them by fasting and prayer;[h] and, wishing to add some humiliating occupation to these exercises, he began the study of Hebrew under a converted Jew—the language being recommended for his purpose by the indignity of learning an alphabet, by the unmusical sound of the words, and by the unadorned plainness (as Jerome considered it) of the sacred writings.[i] The acquisition proved valuable in a degree more than sufficient to com-

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the character of the saint, in which the biographer is curiously distracted between his own impressions and the authority of his church. On the same subject Dr. Newman, while yet a member of the English church, wrote as follows:—"I do not scruple to say that, were he not a saint, there are things in his writings and views from which I should shrink; but as the case stands, I shrink rather from putting myself in opposition to something like a judgment of the catholic world in favour of his saintly perfection. I cannot, indeed, force myself to approve or like against my judgment or feeling; but I can receive things on faith against both one and the other, and I am willing to take certain characteristics of this learned and highly-gifted man on faith."—(Church of the Fathers, 263-4.) I must plainly avow that the morality of such refinements appears to me very questionable, and that I have throughout held myself at liberty to form and to express an opinion as to the personages of ecclesiastical history. [M. Amedée Thierry's 'Saint Jérome,' (Paris, 1867) is written with the author's usual ability, but is pervaded by a spirit of hero-worship which perverts his judgment almost as effectually as if it were the effect of religious sympathy.]

[d] The date is placed in 331 by Prosper (Patrol. li. 576), who is followed by Schröckh (xi. 7) and by Clinton. Tillemont's date (xii. 6, 618) is 342. M. Thierry says "vers 346." i. 41.

[e] Tillem. xii. 7-11.

[f] Ib. 19; Schröckh, xi. 14.

[g] Ep. xlviii. 20.

[h] Ep. xxi. 7; cxxv. 12; Tillem. xii. 8, 21-3; Theiner, i. 155-7.

[i] Ep. cxxv. 12.

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pensate for the injury which he tells us[k] that his Latin style, and even his pronunciation, had suffered from it.

Jerome had devoted himself with zeal to classical literature, while he despised the Scriptures for their simplicity. The bent of his studies was changed by a remarkable incident, either while he was residing at Antioch before betaking himself to the desert,[l] or during his retirement. He had a severe illness, and was supposed to be dead, when he found himself placed in the presence of the Judge, and, on being asked his condition, answered that he was a Christian. "Thou liest," it was said; "thou art not a Christian, but a Ciceronian; for where thy treasure is, there is thy heart also." He was severely beaten, but at his earnest entreaty, and through the intercession of the saints who stood around, his life was spared in pity of his youth. He swore never again to open a heathen book, and on returning to the world found, as he tells us, that his shoulders were black and his body aching from the blows which he had received.[m] Jerome seems to have afterwards dealt with this story according to his convenience—treating it as a solemn reality when he wished to dissuade others from the study of secular learning, and as a mere dream when he found himself unable to deny that he had not strictly observed his oath.[n] In later ages his vision was often pleaded in favour both of an indolent unwillingness to study and of a fanatical contempt of letters.[o]

The controversies of the time disquieted even the

[k] Ep. xxix. 7.

[l] Tillem. xii. 24-7, is for the desert; Schröckh, xi. 14-17, for Antioch.

[m] Ep. xxii. 30.

[n] See Rufin. Apol. ii. 8, and Jerome's answer, i. 30-1; iii. 32. In i. 30, he says that, even if it were not a dream, the inferences against him were wrong. "Dixi me sæculares litteras not deinceps lecturum; de futuro sponsio est, non præteritæ memoriæ abolitio." M. Ozanam says all that he can for Jerome as to this. i. 302-4.

[o] Schröckh, vii. 366; xi. 14-17. See Milton's characteristic comment, 'Areopagitica,' in Prose Works, ed. Fletcher, p. 107.

desert. Jerome quarrelled with the neighbouring monks as to the disputes of Meletius, Paulinus, and the Apollinarian Vitalis for the possession of the see of Antioch, and as to the use of the term *hypostasis*.[p] An appeal to Damasus of Rome for direction seems to have decided him in favour of Paulinus;[q] he left the desert in 377, and in the following year was ordained presbyter by that bishop, with a stipulation that he should not be bound to any particular sphere of duty.[r] After having spent some time at Constantinople, during the episcopate of Gregory Nazianzen, whom he greatly revered,[s] he settled in 382 at Rome, where he acted as ecclesiastical secretary[t] to Damasus, and assisted him in his studies.

This position, with his talents, his learning, and the reputation of religious experience which he had brought from the east, gave him the means of powerfully forwarding the cause of monasticism and celibacy.[u] He soon gained an immense influence among the Roman ladies of rank, among whom Marcella, Asella, Paula, and Fabiola were conspicuous. He directed their spiritual life; he read and explained the Scriptures to them, while their eager questions often went beyond his power of answering; he endeavoured to draw all women into a resolution to preserve their virginity or their widowhood, and to engage in a course of asceticism.[x] When remarks

[p] Epp. v., xvii.; Tillem. xii. 43-4; Schröckh, xi. 28-9.

[q] Epp. xv.-xvi.; Tillem. xii. 45-9; Schröckh, xi. 30.

[r] Hieron. c. Joh. Hieros. 41; Tillem. xii. 49-51.

[s] Adv. Rufin. i. 13; de VV. Illustr. 117; Ullmann's Gregory of Nazianzum, 197-9.

[t] So it is generally inferred from Ep. cxxiii. 10—"Cum in chartis ecclesiasticis juvarem Damasum, Romanæ urbis episcopum, [et orientis atque occidentis synodicis consultationibus responderem]." Schröckh (viii. 117) follows Buonamici in denying this—interpreting *chartis ecclesiasticis* of scriptural studies—not of ecclesiastical documents. I have no knowledge of Buonamici's argument; but the words in brackets, which Schröckh does not quote, seem to justify the common interpretation of the others.

[u] Tillem. xii. 63; Schröckh, xi. 62; Theiner, i. 161-2.

[x] Ep. cxxvii. 7-8; Schröckh, xi. 71; xii. 875. See Thierry, i. 25-33.

were made on his confining his instructions to the weaker sex, he answered that if men would ask him about Scripture he would not occupy himself with women. When charged with disparaging marriage, he answered that he praised it, inasmuch as marriage gave birth to virgins.[y]

The religion which Jerome taught these female pupils was not without its temptations to pride, from which it may be doubted whether his warnings[z] were sufficient to preserve them. They were charged to seclude themselves from all other persons; the virgin Eustochium was exhorted to avoid all intercourse with married women as corrupting.[a] The pursuits of piety and of unusual learning animated them to despise the ordinary amusements of the world; and they were taught to regard such amusements, without any distinction, as sins of the most deadly kind.[b] On those who followed his directions Jerome lavished hyperbolical praises. He tells them that a mother who gives up her daughter to celibacy becomes the "mother-in-law of God"[c]—an expression which not unnaturally gave occasion for charges of profanity.[d] One of his epistles is an elaborate panegyric on Asella, written to Marcella, whom, with an amusing show of gravity, he begs not to communicate it to her friend who was the subject of it.[e] His eulogium on Paula after her death begins thus—"If all the members of my body were turned into tongues, and all my joints were to utter human voices, I should be unable to say anything worthy of the holy and venerable Paula's virtues."[f] Eustochium he styles "the precious pearl"—"the precious jewel of virginity and of the church."[g] She, he says, "in gathering the flowers of virginity," answers to

[y] Ep. xxii. 19, 20; lxv. 2.
[z] Ep. xxii. 17.
[a] Ib. 16.
[b] Schröckh, xi. 76.
[c] Ep. xxii. 20.
[d] Rufin. Apol. ii. 10.
[e] Ep. xxiv.
[f] Ep. cviii. 1.
[g] Ib. 4.

the good ground in the parable which yielded an hundredfold, while her sister Paulina, who had died in wedlock, was as that which brought forth thirty-fold, and their mother, the widowed Paula, as that which brought forth sixty-fold.[h] With no less zeal he extols Demetrias, a member of the great Anician family,[i] who with her mother Juliana had been driven by the calamities of Rome to seek a refuge in Africa. On the eve of the day appointed for her marriage, this "foremost maiden of the Roman world for nobility and wealth"[k] declared her resolution to embrace a life of celibacy. Augustine, Jerome, and other eminent teachers wrote to her on the occasion; among them Pelagius, whose peculiar tenets were then beginning to attract attention, addressed to her, at her mother's request, an elaborate epistle, in which his errors were so strongly expressed that Augustine and Alypius thought it necessary to counteract the effect of it by writing jointly to Juliana.[l] "What an exultation was there throughout the whole family!" exclaims Jerome. "As if from a fruitful root, a multitude of virgins sprang up at once, and a crowd of dependants and servants followed the example of their pattern and mistress. Through every house ran a fervour of professing virginity. Nay, I say too little—all the churches throughout Africa danced, as it were, for joy. The fame of the act penetrated not

A.D. 414.

[h] Ep. lxvi. 2. This comparison of the three states is frequent with Jerome, and afterwards became current. See, for example, Ælfric's Homilies, i. 149, ed. Thorpe.

[i] See Montalembert, i. 148. This family, originally of Præneste, is first mentioned in the second century B.C. See Smith's 'Dict. of Biography,' &c., art. *Anicia Gens;* Reumont, i. 336, 687, seqq.

[k] Ep. cxxx. 1.

[l] The letter of Pelagius, which is printed among St. Jerome's works (Patrol xxx. 15, seqq.), will be mentioned hereafter (Book III. c. viii.). Like Jerome's eulogiums, it was likely to raise a dangerous self-satisfaction in Demetrias. (See especially c. 14.) The letter of Augustine and his friend is the 188th of his epistles. See also Aug. de Gratia et Persever. 23, 40, seqq., for the errors of Pelagius' letter.

only to cities, towns, and villages, but even to the very tents of the barbarians. All the islands between Africa and Italy were filled with the rumour; and the rejoicings, unchecked in their progress, ran further and further." He goes on to say that Rome had put off her mourning garments—regarding the "perfect conversion" of her child as a token of divine favour towards herself—a compensation for the calamities which she had lately endured; that the shores of the Mediterranean and the regions of the east resounded with celebrations of Demetrias. "Even now," he tells her, in words which admit of more than one application, "you have received, O virgin, more than you have offered. Whereas only one province had known you as the bride of man, the whole world has heard of you as the virgin of Christ."[m] The constant dwelling on the subject of virginity in writing to such correspondents—the strange, and sometimes grossly indecent,[n] comparisons with earthly love by which Jerome illustrates their mystical union with the heavenly bridegroom—are singularly at variance with modern ideas of delicacy. Nor, indeed, is it easy to understand why the choice of an unmarried life—which among ourselves is an every-day effect of mere economical prudence—should be extravagantly magnified as the loftiest reach of heroic sanctity.[o]

Of the Roman ladies who fell under the influence of Jerome, Paula and her daughter Eustochium are the most intimately connected with his history. Paula was born in 347. Her father was said to be descended from Agamemnon; her mother from the Scipios and the Gracchi.[p] Her husband, Toxotius, who traced his line-

[m] Ep. cxxx. 6.

[n] *E.g.* Ep. xxii. 25.

[o] It is always the celibacy that is put forward as the great merit—not the devotion and asceticism which were connected with it.

[p] Hieron. Ep. cviii. 3; Tillem. xii. 84.

age through the Julian family to Æneas,[q] died in 380, leaving her with a young son of his own name, and with four daughters—Blæsilla, Paulina, Eustochium, and Rufina. Paula had already exchanged the luxury and delicacy of her former life for a course of strict religion before she became acquainted with Jerome.[r] Eustochium, who had been trained under the care of the noble and pious widow Marcella, was the first Roman maiden of high birth who dedicated her virginity to God.[s] At the desire of her uncle Hymetius, his wife, Prætextata, once more attired her after the fashion of this world, in the hope that she might be persuaded to abandon her resolution; but Jerome relates that in the same night the matron was visited in her sleep by an angel of terrible countenance and voice, who told her that since she had preferred her husband's command to Christ's, the sacrilegious hands which had touched the virgin's head should wither; that within five months she would be carried off to hell; and, unless she repented forthwith, her husband and sons should be taken from her in one day. These threatenings (he says) were all fulfilled; and he does not fail to draw a moral for others from the fate of Prætextata.[t]

Blæsilla, the eldest daughter of Paula, became a widow within seven months after her marriage. On her recovery from a dangerous illness, she devoted herself, by what is styled "a sort of second baptism,"[u] to prayer and mortification. Her tears flowed, not for the loss of her husband, but for the irreparable forfeiture of the virgin's crown.[x] She learnt Hebrew with wonderful rapidity, and contended with her mother which of them should commit to memory and should chant the greater number of

[q] Ep. cviii. 4.
[r] Ep. lxvi. 13; Tillem. x. 85.
[s] Hieron. Ep. xxii. 17; lxvi. 3, cxxvii. 5.
[t] Ep. cvii. c.
[u] Ep. xxxix. 3. For a collection of passages relating to Blæsilla, see Acta SS., Jan. 22, pp. 29-30.
[x] Ep. xxii. 15; xxxviii. 4; xxxix. 2.

psalms in the original. After three months of this life Blæsilla died, her end having apparently been hastened by her austerities. At her funeral, which was conducted with pomp suitable to her rank, Paula was greatly agitated, and she was carried home as if dead. The crowd of spectators burst forth into loud cries, "See how she weeps for her child, after having killed her with fasting!" and they were clamorous for the death or banishment of the monks, by whose arts they declared that both mother and daughter had been bewitched. Jerome, who was especially aimed at, wrote to reprove Paula for having, by her exhibition of grief, given this occasion to the enemy; the devil (he said) having missed her daughter's soul, was now attempting to catch her own.[y]

In addition to the popular excitement, Jerome had provoked the dislike of many Roman nobles, whose female relatives had been under his guidance. He had also made many enemies among the professed virgins by censuring their inconsistencies in dress and manners,[z] and was deeply engaged in quarrels with the clergy, whom he taxed with ignorance, luxury, rapacity, and selfishness, while they retorted by complaints of his intolerable arrogance.[a] Even his ardent admirer Marcella was unable to approve the scorn and the asperity with which he treated his opponents;[b] and the satirical letters which he wrote against his brethren were eagerly circulated among the heathen as tending to the disparagement of Christianity altogether.[c] By the death of his patron Damasus, which took place in 384, within a month after that of Blæsilla, he lost his official employment. He tells us that, in the earlier days of his residence at Rome, he had been in the highest estimation,

[y] Ep. xxxix. 5; Tillem. xii. 87-92.
[z] Ep. xxvii. 2.
[a] Ep. xxii. 16, 28; Baron. 385. 9.
[b] Ep. xxvii.
[c] Rufin. Apol. ii. 5.

and had even been regarded as worthy to succeed to the bishoprick;[d] but by this time the general opinion had changed. He had made himself unpopular; he was accused of magic, and of improper familiarity with Paula. "What?" he indignantly asks, "was I ever charged with following after silken dresses, glittering jewels, painted faces, or the desire of gold? Was there no other among the Roman matrons who could subdue my mind but one who is always weeping and fasting, squalid in filthy rags, almost blinded by her tears?—one who spends whole nights in supplications to God for mercy; whose songs are the Psalms, whose speech is the Gospel, whose pleasure is continence, whose life is a fast?"[e] That his own intractable character had been in any degree to blame for the troubles which had arisen, was an idea which Jerome could neither conceive nor entertain;[f] in 385, after a residence of somewhat less than three years, he left Rome in disgust for the east.[g]

Paula soon after followed, with Eustochium. Jerome draws an elaborate picture of her kindred, her marriageable daughter Rufina, and the young Toxotius, accompanying her to the place of embarkation, and imploring that she would not abandon them.[h] Perhaps indignation may mingle with our other feelings as we read his eulogies on the mistaken heroism which led her, in the fancied pursuit of a higher religious life, to cast aside the duties which God and nature had laid upon her.[i]

Jerome and Paula met again at Antioch, and spent some time in travelling, together or apart.[k] Paula visited, with the greatest devotion, all the holy sites;[l] while Jerome employed himself in endeavouring, by the help

[d] Ep. xlv. 3.
[e] Ib.
Schröckh, xi. 83.
[g] Tillem. xii. 100.
[h] Ep. cviii. 6.
[i] "Nesciebat se matrem, ut Christi probaret ancillam." Ib.
[k] Tillem. xii. 100; Schröckh, xii. 83; Thierry, l. v.-vi.
[l] Ep. cviii. 8-14.

of local traditions, to bring the topography of Palestine to bear on the illustration of Scripture. From the Holy Land they passed into Egypt, where they sojourned among the Nitrian monks,[m] and Jerome attended the lectures of Didymus, the last eminent master of the catechetical school of Alexandria, who, although blind from early childhood, was among the foremost men of his age, not only for genius, but for theological and secular learning.[n] In 387 the matron and her spiritual guide took up their abode at Bethlehem, then a place of great resort, both for pilgrims from all parts of the Christian world, and for settlers who wished to enjoy such advantages as the neighbourhood of scenes famous in sacred history might be expected to yield for the religious life. Jerome describes in lofty terms the love, the harmony, and the mutual forbearance which reigned among the sojourners in the Redeemer's birthplace;[o] but his praises were perhaps chiefly founded on the improvement in his own position, as compared with that of his latter days at Rome; and it is certain that if Bethlehem was at peace when he arrived there, his temper soon introduced the elements of discord.[p]

Paula became an object of interest to pilgrims, whose veneration more than compensated for the secular advantages which she had resigned.[q] For a time Jerome lived in a small cell. He was supported by Paula, but would accept only the coarsest clothing, with a diet of

[m] Ep. cviii. 14.

[n] Rufin. Hist. Eccl. ii. 7; Tillem. x. 287, seqq.; xii. 83, 102-4; Schröckh, vii. 81.

[o] Ep. xlvi. 10 (written to Marcella, in the names of Paula and Eustochium).

[p] "Tanta fuit ejus invidia, ut ab ea obrueretur virtus doctrinæ. Cum ergo multis diebus cum eo versatus esset sanctus Posidonius, dicit mihi in aurem, 'Ingenua quidem Paula, quæ ejus curam gerit, præmorietur, liberata ab ejus invidia. Ut autem arbitror, propter hunc virum non habitabit vir sanctus in his locis, sed ejus pervadet invidia usque ad proprium fratrem.' Resque ita accidit. Etenim beatum Oxyperentium Italum is hinc expulit; et Petrum alium quendam Ægyptium, et Simeonem, viros admirabiles." Pallad. Hist. Laus. 78-82; cf. 125 (Patrol lxxiii.; or Patrol. Gr. xxxiv.).

[q] Hieron. Ep. cviii. 3.

bread, water, and pulse.[r] By selling the remainder of his patrimony, through the agency of his brother Paulinian, whom he sent into the west for the purpose, he was able to build a monastery, in which it is supposed that he took up his abode, and an hospital, which was open to all strangers except heretics, "lest," he said, "Joseph and Mary, if they were to come again to Bethlehem, should again find no room; for our purpose is to wash the feet of those who come to us—not to discuss their merits."[s] His chief literary occupation was the translation of the Scriptures. While at Rome he had, at the desire of Damasus, corrected the Latin version of the Gospels by the Greek; he now, in like manner, corrected the Latin of the Old Testament according to the text of the Septuagint exhibited in Origen's Hexapla, which he procured from the library of Cæsarea[t]; but he afterwards entered on a greater undertaking, of vast importance for the ages which were to follow[u]—a direct translation from the Hebrew. These labours excited great odium against him on the part of persons by whom the reverence which regards God's word as sacred was ignorantly extended to the defects of the versions which they had been accustomed to use. His correction of the Gospels had contributed to swell his unpopularity at Rome;[x] to attempt any improvements on the Septuagint, which was supposed to be itself inspired, was regarded as a daring impiety.[y] Rufinus, in the bitterness of controversy, denounced Jerome for bringing the knowledge which he had bought from "a Barabbas of the synagogue" to disparage the books which the apostles had delivered to the church;[z] even Augustine

[r] Tillem. xii. 106. For Jerome's ideas as to food, etc., see Ep. lxxix. 5; dv. Jovin. ii. 10.

[s] Ep. lxvi. 14; adv. Rufin. iii. 17.

[t] De VV. Illustr. 54.

[u] On its importance in forming the language of the Latin church, see Ozanam, 'Civil. Chrét. au 5me Siècle, Leçon xv.

[x] Ep. xxvii.

[y] Tillem. xii. 94-7, 129-31; Schröckh, ix. 128; vi. 112; Neand. iv. 455.

[z] Apol. ii. 12, 35-7. "Voilà," says M. Thierry, "comment Rufin se ven-

wrote to dissuade him from prosecuting his task, on the ground that, after the labours of so many translators, there was probably nothing considerable to be done.[a]

By his correspondence Jerome acted as a spiritual director to many religious persons at Rome and elsewhere, while at home he superintended the exercises and employments of Paula and Eustochium. The hours of the pious widow and her daughter were spent in study, devotion, and works of charity: such was their eagerness to penetrate into the meaning of Scripture, that Jerome often found himself perplexed by their pertinacious questionings.[b] Paula daily bewailed the vanities of her youth with a profusion of tears;[c] even in illness she refused to depart from her custom of lying on the bare floor in a hair shirt; nor would she taste wine, although the advice of her physician was supported by the spiritual authority of Jerome and of Epiphanius, bishop of Constantia in Cyprus.[d] She built three monasteries for women, and one for men.[e] Her property had been greatly reduced by her largesses for religious and charitable purposes before leaving Rome and in the course of her travels; she now gave away the remainder, and, when Jerome remonstrated, she answered that it was her wish to die a beggar, without leaving anything for her daughter, and to be indebted to the charity of others for a shroud.[f] Eustochium is celebrated as a model of filial obedience; she never, it is said, slept away from her mother, never

geait d'ignorer l'hébreu" (ii. 33). Jerome defends himself against the charge of despising the LXX., and cites his preface to the books of the Old Testament in disproof of it. Adv. Rufin. ii. 24-34.

[a] Ep. xxvii. 2 (or Ep. Hieron. lvi.). In a later letter (Ep. Hier. civ.) Augustine represents the evil results which were likely to follow from the use of a Latin version disagreeing with the Greek. Jerome replies (cxii. 19, seqq.), and Augustine is partly convinced by him. (Ep. Hier. cxvi. 34-5.) For Augustine's views as to the LXX. and other versions, see De Doctr. Christ. ii. 15.

[b] Ep. cviii. 26; Tillem. vii. 127-8.

[c] Ep. cviii. 15.

[d] Ib. 20.

[e] Ib. 19; Schröckh, viii. 352.

[f] Ep. cviii. 18.

ate except in her company, never took a step without her: she never had any money of her own during her mother's lifetime, and at Paula's death found herself charged with the maintenance of a multitude of male and female recluses, and burdened with debts which the devout widow had contracted at high interest, in order to obtain the means for her extravagant alms-deeds.[g]

After a residence of nearly twenty years at Bethlehem, Paula died in 404, and was buried in the church of the Nativity. The funeral rites lasted a week. The bier was borne by bishops, while others of that order carried lamps; and the attendance of clergy, monks, and laity was immense. The inscription on the grave, composed by Jerome, set forth the illustrious descent and connexions of Paula, with her sacrifice of all for Christ.[h] Eustochium survived her until 419,[i] and in the following year Jerome himself died, having attained the age of eighty-nine.[k]

The founders of monasticism intended that their disciples should be patterns of the highest Christian life, rather than directly teachers. They were therefore originally laymen,[l] but by the repute of sanctity they soon gained an influence which raised them into a rivalry with the clergy. Although for the most part little qualified by education to judge of theological questions, they were consulted on the highest and the most difficult. Some of them were resorted to as oracles; even the emperor Theodosius, before resolving on war, thought it well to assure himself by the opinion of John, a celebrated solitary of the Thebaid.[m] By many of the monks ecclesi-

[g] Ep. cviii. 15, 26-30. "Yea," says Fuller, in his account of Paula, "it is necessary that liberality should have banks, as well as a stream." (Holy State, c. xi.). Jerome says that Eustochium hoped to pay her mother's debts (Ep. cviii. 15)—by what means he does not explain.

[h] Ep. cviii. 28-9, 33.

[i] Tillem. xii. 59; Schröckh, viii. 35[illegible]

[k] Pagi, vii. 209; Tillem. xii. 350.

[l] Bingh. VII. ii. 7; Mosh. i. 308.

[m] Cassian. de Cœn. Inst. iv. 2; For this John, see Rufin. Hist. M[illegible]

astical office was regarded as inconsistent with the higher spiritual life. Thus St. Martin of Tours considered that his power of miracles was weakened from the time when he left his monastery for the episcopate.[n] Pachomius charged his brotherhood to shun ordination as a snare;[o] and it is recorded as a saying current in Egypt, that "a monk ought to avoid bishops and women; for neither will allow him to rest quietly in his cell, or to devote himself to the contemplation of heavenly things."[p] Ammonius, one of the monks who had accompanied Athanasius to Rome, on being chosen for a bishoprick, cut off one of his ears, supposing that, as under the Jewish law, the mutilation would disqualify him; and, on being told that such was not the case, he threatened to cut out his tongue.[q] When, however, an abbot named Dracontius declined a bishoprick as being a hindrance to spiritual improvement, Athanasius strongly combated his opinion. "Even when a bishop," he writes, "you may hunger and thirst, and fast as often as Paul. . . . We know of bishops who fast, and of monks who eat; of bishops who abstain from wine, and of monks who drink; of bishops who do miracles, and of monks who do none; of many bishops who have never married, and of monks who have had children."[r] But, although the original idea of monachism discouraged the

i. 1; Pallad. Hist. Laus. 43-6. Rufinus speaks of his inspiration as a divinely granted reward of the emperor's piety (Hist. Eccl. ii. 19, 32). The eunuch Eutropius, who will again come before us, was employed on the mission to John—

" . . . inter proprias laudes Ægyptia jactat
Somnia, prostratosque canit se vate tyrannos
* * * * * * * *
Reptat, ab extremo referens oracula Nilo," etc. *Claudian. in Eutrop.* i. 312-16.

[n] Sulp. Sev. Dial. ii. 4.

[o] Vita, 24.

[p] Cass. de Cœn Inst. xi. 17.

[q] Soz. iv. 30; Hist. Laus. 12. Ammonius will be again mentioned in the next chapter.

[r] Ath. ad Drac. 9 (t. i. 268); comp. Bingh. VII. ii. 6; Möhler's Athanasius, ii. 137-42. The last words have been commonly supposed to relate to some who followed an ascetic life, yet did not refuse marriage. (Cf. Aug. de Hæresibus, 40, Patrol. xlii.; who speaks of very many monks and clergy as married and possessing property.) But does not the context of Athanasius rather show that unchaste monks are meant?

reception of ecclesiastical orders, many monks regarded ordination as an advancement, and for that reason sought after it. St. Augustine intimates that these were not always the persons who were most likely to do credit to the clerical office;[s] but even where there was no previous objection on the ground of character, the effect of transferring monks to the ranks of clergy was often unsatisfactory. St. Chrysostom, a warm advocate of monasticism, mentions that he had known some who made continual progress as monks, but deteriorated when brought into active life as ecclesiastics;[t] and perhaps this change may be explained by supposing that the monastic training had failed to prepare them for functions which require a knowledge of men, and a sympathy with human feelings.

There is much that is beautiful and attractive in the idea of monasticism—a life dedicated to prayer and contemplation, varied by labours for the good of mankind; a bond of brotherhood, linking together as equals all who should enter into the society, from the man who had forsaken rank and wealth and power—perhaps even sovereignty—to the emancipated slave; renunciation of individual possessions for a community of all things, in imitation (as was supposed) of the first Christians after the day of Pentecost. But while we acknowledge this, and believe that in very many cases the benefits of the monastic institution were largely realized—while we see in the establishment of this system a providential preparation for the coming ages of darkness, in which it was to be of inestimable service to the church, to literature, and to civilization—we must notice even thus early some of the evils which were mixed with it. Foremost among these may be placed the danger of the distinction between an ordinary and a more exalted Christian life. This idea St. Chrysostom strongly and frequently op-

[s] Ep. lx. [t] De Sacerd. iii. 15.

posed. "All men, he says, "ought to rise to the same height, and that which ruins the whole world is that we imagine a greater strictness to be necessary for the monk alone, but that others may lead careless lives. Indeed it is not so, it is not so; but we are all required to exercise the same discipline; and this I very strongly assert,—or rather, not I, but He who will be our judge. The Saviour's precepts that we should take his yoke upon us, that we should enter in at the strait gate, that we should hate the life of this world, and all such like, are not addressed to monks only, but to all."[u] But the distinction was too commonly adopted—not only to the relaxation of religion and morals among the multitude, who learnt to devolve the higher duties on the monks, and were led into a general disregard of the divine laws by finding themselves exempt from the operation of certain rules which claimed a divine authority, such as the monastic precepts on the subject of marriage; but to the danger of those who embraced a course which was thus marked out as far above that required of mankind in general.[x]

The institution was not of Christian origin. It was common to eastern religions; the scriptural patterns of it were all drawn from the days of the Old Testament—Elijah, the Rechabites, St. John the Baptist;[y] whereas a warrant for it under the gospel was only to be found by violently distorting the meaning of some passages, or by magnifying them beyond their due proportion.[z] The monk was to avoid those trials of life for the bearing of which grace is promised, and was to cast himself on other trials, for which he might possibly be unfit. He was placed in hostility, not only to the corruption and evil of the world, but to that which is good in it. He was to

[u] Adv. Oppugnatores Vitæ Monasticæ, 3 (t. i. pp. 102-3).

[x] Neander, Memorials, 189; Giesel. I. ii. 306-23.

[y] Hieron. Ep. lviii. 5.

[z] Schröckh, ix. 161; Neand. iii. 323.

renounce its charities and its discipline ; he was to become a stranger to his natural affections.[a] Antony himself believed it to be a duty to overcome his love for his sister, whom, after their early parting, he never saw again until she had become an aged abbess ;[b] and we have seen how harshly Pachomius disowned the ties of kindred. Pior, a disciple of Antony, on leaving his father's house, vowed that he would never again look on any of his relations. After he had spent fifty years in the desert, his sister discovered that he was still alive; she was too infirm to seek him out, but her earnest entreaties set in motion the authority of his superiors, and Pior was ordered to visit her. Having arrived in front of her dwelling, he sent her notice of his presence. As the door opened, he closed his eyes, and held them obstinately closed throughout the meeting; and, having allowed his sister to see him in this fashion, he refused to enter her house, and hurried back to the desert.[c] Another monastic hero, on receiving a large packet of letters from his home, with which he had held no communication for fifteen years, burnt it without opening it, lest the contents should distract his mind by suggesting remembrances of the writers.[d] A still more extraordinary example of the manner in which the monks were expected to deaden their natural feelings is said to have been given by one Mucius. On his desiring admission into a monastery, with his son, a boy eight years old, they were compelled, by way of trial, to remain long without the gate. The constancy with which this was borne prevailed on the monks to admit them, although children were usually excluded ; but their probation was not yet ended. They were separated from

[a] See Basil. Resp. 2 : and a story of Antony, in Cassian. Coll. xxiv. 11.

[b] Athan. Vita Anton. 54.

[c] Pallad. Hist. Laus. 87. The behaviour of St. Pæmen and his brothers to their mother was remarkable in the same way. Vitæ Patrum, iii. 154 (Patrol. lxxiii.).

[d] Cass. de Cœn. Inst. v. 32.

each other, the child was ill-treated in every way, was dressed in rags, kept in a disgustingly filthy state, and often beaten without any cause. Mucius, however, made no remonstrance; and at length, on being told to throw his son into the river, he obeyed this command also. The boy was saved, and it was revealed to the abbot of the house that his new inmate was a second Abraham.[e]

The overstrained and misdirected idea of obedience which appears so remarkably in the case of Mucius, runs through the whole history of early monachism. The applicants for admission into a monastic society were required to approve themselves by submitting to insults, contempt, harsh usage, and degrading employments;[f] the faith and patience of the monks were tried by the imposition of wearisome and preposterous labours. Thus it is related that John, the same whose responses afterwards directed the policy of the great Theodosius, was commanded by his abbot to remove a huge rock, and struggled at the manifestly hopeless task until he was worn out by the violence of his exertions. At another time he was ordered to water a dry stick twice a day; and for a year he faithfully persisted in the work, toiling, whether sick or well, through all the inclemencies of the seasons, to fetch the water twice every day from a distance of two miles. On being asked at length by his superior whether the plant had struck root, the monk completed his obedience by modestly answering that he did not know; whereupon the abbot, pulling up the stick, released him from his task.[g] In such narratives it seems to be expected that we should admire not only the endurance of the sub-

[e] Cass. de Cœn. Inst. v. 27-8. The editor, Gazé, while his natural feeling is revolted by the story, says that, as the whole was approved by a vision, the abbot must have been divinely prompted in the trials to which he subjected Mucius and his son.

[f] Ib. iv. 3; Basil. Regula, 10.

[g] Cass. iv. 24-6. Sulp. Severus tells a similar story; but in it the watering

missive monk, but the execrable tyranny of the task-master.[h]

The zeal with which St. Ambrose taught that virginity ought to be embraced in defiance of the will of parents has already been mentioned.[i] St. Jerome is yet more extravagant. "Although," he writes, in exhorting Heliodorus to become a hermit, "your little nephew should hang about your neck; although your mother, with hair dishevelled and garments rent, should show you the breasts at which she nourished you; although your father should lie on the threshold;—trample on your father, and set out! Fly with dry eyes to the banner of the cross! The only kind of piety is to be cruel in this matter."[k]

An over-valuation of celibacy already called down the censure of some councils. That of Gangra[l] anathematizes those who condemn marriage as if it were inconsistent with salvation; it forbids virgins to exalt themselves above the married, and orders that women should not forsake their husbands as if matrimony were unholy.[m] The whole tone of its canons is directed against the error of making a higher religion the pretext for the neglect of natural and

is continued for three years, at the end of which the monk's obedience is rewarded by the shooting of the wood, which Sulpicius professes to have seen as a flourishing shrub. Dial. i. 18.

[h] St. Bernard, in the twelfth century, derides a monk as a "modern Paul the Simple" (see the next page), for holding himself bound to adhere to his abbot in a movement of which St. Bernard disapproved. "O monachum obedientissimum, cui ex quibuslibet seniorum verbulis ne unum quidem iota prætervolet! Non attendit quæ sit quod præcipitur, hoc solo contentus quia præcipitur." Ep. vii. c. 12.

[i] P. 11.

[k] Ep. xiv. 2. Although, in Ep. lii. 1, Jerome speaks of the letter to Heliodorus as written when he was a young man, and as too rhetorical, he at a later time praises Fabiola for having known it by heart, and acted on it (Ep. lxxvii. 9). Compare a strange medley of scriptural metaphors in Ep. xxii. 24 ad Eustoch.). St. Hilary of Poitiers is not answerable for the conduct which is related as to his praise by a writer of the sixth or seventh century—that when he returned from exile, finding his daughter inclined to marry, he prayed that she might be taken from the world, and was heard in his petition! Vita Hil. i. 6, 13 (Patrol. ix., or lxxxviii. 442-6); Tillem. vii. 449; cf. Theiner, i. 267.

[l] See vol. i. p. 443.

[m] Cc. 1, 9, 10, 14.

ordinary duties.[n] Other councils forbade the reception of married persons into monasteries without the consent of their partners, and the profession of celibacy by women before the age of mature understanding. The council of Saragossa (A.D. 381) fixes this at forty; the third council of Carthage (A.D. 397), at twenty-five; St. Basil, without naming any particular age, requires that the profession shall be the effect of a settled and independent resolution.[o]

Some monks lived entirely for contemplation and devotion, depending on others for food—as Paul, called the Simple, a monk of Scetis, who said three hundred prayers a-day, keeping an account of them by pebbles.[p] But in general, the need of some additional occupation was felt by the fathers of monasticism.[q] It was a saying that "a monk employed is beset by one devil, but an idle monk by a whole legion."[r] The industrial occupations prescribed for the monks, however, were not in general such as very thoroughly to occupy them.[s] There was, after all, much vacant time, and, although some of them

[n] Canon 13 forbids women to assume male attire under the pretext of continence—a practice which St. Jerome also mentions. Ep. xxii. 27.

[o] Conc. Cæsaraug. c. 8; Conc. III. Carthag. c. 4 (Labbe, ii. 1167); Basil. Resp. xv. 4.

[p] This Paul told the younger Macarius that, while he prayed three hundred times daily, a certain virgin prayed seven hundred times, and he expressed distress at being so much outdone by a person of the weaker sex. Macarius very sensibly replied, "*I* pray only *one* hundred times a day, and my conscience never reproaches me on that account: if *your* conscience reproaches you, either you do not pray with your heart, or you *might* pray oftener" (Pallad. Hist. Laus. 23-4). To this may be added a story told by Cassian:—On the introduction of the cœnobitic system into Egypt, under St. Mark (for Cassian supposes the therapeutæ to have been Christian cœnobites), some monks were for requiring fifty, sixty, or even a greater number of psalms to be chanted at a service; when one day, while the brethren were seated in church, according to the Egyptian custom, one of the company stood up, sang *twelve* psalms, and then vanished. The monks concluded that their visitor was an angel, and fixed the number of psalms at that which he had sanctioned. De Cœn. Inst. ii. 5.

[q] Hieron. Ep. cxxv. 11; Cass. Collat xxiv. 4, 12-13.

[r] Cass. de Cœn. Inst. x. 23

[s] Schröckh, v. 133-5.

cultivated learning, there was in most cases a want of mental resources for the profitable use of leisure.[t] Antony, indeed, when a philosopher asked him how he could live without books, was able to reply that for him the whole creation was a book, always at hand, in which he could read God's word whensoever he pleased.[u] But this capacity for the contemplative life was not universal among the multitude who embraced the monastic profession—some from a mere spirit of imitation; others from disappointment in love or in ambition, from excited feelings of remorse, or in consequence of a sudden shock; some from a wish to distinguish themselves, and to gain the reputation of holiness; some from a disinclination to earn their support by any active calling.[x] The means which were taken to avoid temptation rather served to excite it, by placing always before the mind the duty of combating certain forms in which it might be expected to appear. Thoughts of blasphemy and visions of impurity are continually mentioned in the histories of monks.[y] Many were driven into positive insanity by solitude and excessive abstinence, working on enthusiastic temperaments;[z] many to despair, with thoughts of suicide, which were sometimes carried into act.[a] The biographies are full of fights with devils, of visions and miracles—especially cures of demoniacs, raising of the dead and compelling them to speak.[b] The brute creatures play a large part in the miraculous tales. Thus it is said that the

[t] See Aug. Ep. xlviii.; Schröckh, viii. 216.

[u] Soc. iv. 23.

[x] See a doubtful epistle ascribed to Gregory the Great, ix. 52; Neand. iii. 358-9, 368; vii. 326, 331-9; Giesel. I. ii. 235.

[y] Rosweyd, Book 5; Theiner, i. 301; Giesel. I. ii. 232-3. See a curious story in Hieron. Ep. cxxv.

[z] See, *e.g.*, the story of Ptolemy. Hist. Laus. 33.

[a] Hieron. Ep. cxxv. 16; cxxx. 17; Cass. Coll. ii. 5-8; Nilus, Ep. ii. 140 (t. ii. p. 183, ed. Suarez, Rom. 1668); Neand. iii. 337-8; Theiner, i. 162; Giesel. I. ii. 234-5. See Burton, Anat. of Melancholy, ii. 510-12, ed. Lond. 1827.

[b] Schröckh, viii. 293; Giesel. I. ii 234-5.

younger Macarius was visited by a lioness, who laid her blind cubs at his feet, that they might receive their sight. The saint, after praying, performed the work; and the mother expressed her gratitude by a present of sheepskins.[c] It would be difficult to determine in how far these stories are true; how far the phantasies of excited imagination may have been mistaken for realities; how far ordinary things have been exaggerated into the miraculous; or how far the narratives are mere falsehoods, invented for the glory of the heroes and of the institution.

With many the outward imitation of the founders of monachism was all in all, while unhappily the spirit which preserved such men as Antony from the evils of their system was wanting. Austerities[d] frightful to think of were too often combined with a want of true Christian faith and purity of heart. Many monks fancied themselves above needing the ordinances of grace; many relapsed from an overstrained asceticism into self-indulgent habits. Spiritual pride and fanaticism abounded.[e] And often it was found that the love of earthly things, which was supposed to have been overcome by embracing the monastic state, revived in new and subtle forms; as we are told that many who had renounced wealth and splendour became chary of a knife, a style, a needle, or

[c] Rufin. Hist. Mon. ii. 4. See the curious book entitled 'Die Heiligen,' i. 921 (Leipz. 1791). Bede relates that a penitent raven presented St. Cuthbert with a large piece of lard such as was used for greasing wheels (*axungiam porcinam*), by way of atonement for having pulled some straw out of his roof in order to build a nest. (Vita Cuthb. 20. Patrol. xciv.) See, too, as to St. Guthlac and the birds, Acta SS., Apr. 11, p. 44.

[d] Thus Macarius the younger, having killed a gnat, resolved to do penance by living naked for six months in the Scetic morass, where the gnats were as large as wasps. At the end of the time he was so disfigured by them that he could only be known by his voice. Heraclides, Parad. 6 (Patrol. lxxiv. 270). On this subject, see Theiner, i. 98-100.

[e] Cass. de Cœn. Inst. l. xi.; "De Cenodoxia," l. xii.; "De Superbia;" Möhler's Athanasius, ii. 89-90; Neand. iii. 337-8, 360-3; Broglie, v. 164. St. Athanasius is quoted by a writer of the ninth century, as saying, in all simplicity, that the monks were the *Pharisees* of Christianity. Georg. Hamartolus, p. 249.

a pen; that they would not let any one even touch their books, and for such trifles were ready to break out into violent anger.[f]

After a time, monks, forgetting the original object of their institution, began to flock into towns, for the sake of the gifts which were to be expected, and of the other advantages which such places offered. This was forbidden in 390 by a law of Theodosius, issued, it is said, at the instigation of judges, who found the visitors apt to interfere with the course of justice.[g] Two years later the law was relaxed, but only to the extent of allowing the monks to repair to cities for the redress of judicial wrongs.[h] The credulity and liberality of the inhabitants were practised on by hypocritical monks, who affected strange dress and savage manners,—loading themselves with heavy chains, exhibiting pretended relics, and telling outrageous fictions of adventures which they professed to have had with evil spirits,—while their private life was spent in luxury and profligacy.[i]

Few of the monks were able even to read; and in them the ignorance which would have been despised in the clergy was admired as a token of sanctity.[k] In consequence of their ignorance they were liable to be swayed by any one who might get possession of their minds.

[f] Cass. Coll. i. 6; iv. 21.

[g] Cod. Theod. XVI. iii. 1. See Godefroy's comment on the law; also a law of Leo and Anthemius, A.D. 466, Cod. Just. I. iii. 29.

[h] "Dum judiciariis aguntur injuriis." (Cod. Theod. l. c. 2.) Whether this means that they were to defend themselves or others from judicial wrong, is disputed. See Godefroy's commentary.

[i] Hieron. Ep. xxii. 28; cxxv. 16; Aug. de Opere Monach. 36; Bingh. VII. iii. 6; Giesel. I. ii. 254. There was in Egypt a class of monks called Sarabaites or Remoboth, who lived in towns, in companies of two or three—apparently corrupt imitators of the earlier ascetics. They are described as worthless and proud—selling their work at extravagant prices, and abusing the clergy. (Cass. Coll. xviii. 4; Bened. Regula, c. 1 and notes, in Patrol. lxvi.; Bingh. VIII. ii. 4; Schröckh, v. 169; viii. 365-6.) On account of this last feature, Neander (iii. 350-1) is inclined to take up their cause against the general consent of writers.

[k] Soz. iv. 28; Schröckh, v. 156.

Their partisanship was violent; they denounced any deviation from their own narrow views as utterly anti-Christian;[l] and, although in the Arian and Apollinarian controversies they did good service, it was often in a rude and improper manner. They interfered tumultuously in the elections of bishops.[m] Crowds of them went about in the east, destroying temples; and as such were the specimens of the monastic class which came into contact with the pagans, we cannot wonder that their illiteracy and their lawless fury excited in these strong feelings of disgust and detestation. Libanius, whose description of them has been already quoted in part, is vehement against these "drones" who live in luxury at other men's cost; and he charges them with getting a large portion of the soil into their possession under false pretences of religion.[n] The emperor Julian can find nothing worse to say against the pretenders to the character of cynics than that they are like the class of "renunciants"[o] among the "Galileans," who, by giving up such trifles as they possess, acquire wealth, state,[p] and reverence. In like manner Eunapius speaks of the monks as leading a "swinish life"; he says that any one who chooses to dress in black and to disregard public decency may acquire a tyrannic power.[q] If a comparison with the circumcellions, which St. Augustine is very eager to rebut,[r] was undeserved by the monks of northern Africa, it would have done but little injustice to those of some other regions.[s]

The monastic spirit soon began to exhibit itself in extravagant forms. Thus the *boscoi*, or grazers, whose

[l] Giesel. I. ii. 242; Neand. iii. 358-9.

[m] Giesel. I. ii. 243.

[n] De Templis, t. ii. 169, ed. Reiske. See p. 287.

[o] ἀποτακτιστὰς. Orat. vii. p. 224.

[p] τὸ δορυφορεῖσθαι.

[q] Vita Ædesii, p. 472, ed. Boissonade, Par. 1849. Zosimus brings like charges. v. 23.

[r] Enarr. in Psalm cxxxii. 3.

[s] See Broglie, v. 161-7

manner of life originated in Mesopotamia, but was afterwards imitated in Palestine, dwelt in mountains or deserts, without any roof to shelter them—exposed, almost entirely naked, to the heat and to the cold, and browsing on grass and herbs until, both in body and in mind, they lost the likeness of humanity.[t] Others of these Christian fakeers, after having professedly attained a perfection superior to all human feelings, used to feign madness, and to astonish the inhabitants of cities by ostentatious displays of ridiculous and unseemly behaviour, in order (as it was interpreted) to show their contempt for worldly glory.[u] And in the beginning of the fifth century appeared the fanaticism of the *stylites*, or pillar-saints.

The first of these, Symeon,[x] a native of the border-land between Syria and Cilicia, was employed in boyhood to tend his father's sheep; but, having been induced by some words which he heard in church to resolve on embracing a religious life, he entered a strict monastery at the age of thirteen, and remained there nine years. His abstinences and other mortifications excited the wonder and admiration of the monks. One day, on being sent to draw water, he took the rough palm-rope of the convent well, bound it tightly round him, and pretended that he had been unable to find it. At the end of a fortnight, the secret was betrayed by the drops of blood which the rope forced out from his flesh; and, on examination, it was found to have eaten into his body so deeply

[t] Soz. iv. 33; Evagr. i. 21.

[u] Evagr. i. 21. Comp. his accounts of two who feigned folly, iv. 34-5.

[x] Ib. i. 13; Schröckh, viii. 227, seqq. Symeon would not be the earliest stylite, if Harles (in Fabric. Bibl. Gr. vi. 734) were right in supposing that the θεραπεύοντες whom Julian describes as προσκαθεύδοντες τῇ κορυφῇ of an obelisk at Alexandria (ib. 735) were monks of this kind. But although these may probably have been Christians, their peculiarity must have consisted in sleeping on the hard and narrow upper side of the obelisk, since it is described as prostrate; nor, indeed, could they possibly have slept on the pointed top.

that it could hardly be seen. Symeon bore without a groan the torture of having it extracted, but would not allow any remedies to be applied to his wounds; and the abbot thereupon begged that he would leave the monastery, lest his severities should raise a spirit of emulation which might be dangerous to the weaker brethren.[y] Symeon then withdrew to a place about forty miles from Antioch, where he lived ten years in a sort of narrow pen; after which he built a pillar, and took his position on the top of it, which was only about a yard in diameter.[z] He removed successively from one pillar to another, always increasing the height, which in the last of them was forty cubits;[a] and in this way he spent thirty-seven years.[b] His life is compared to that of angels—offering up prayers for men from his elevated station, and bringing down graces on them.[c] His neck was loaded with an iron chain. In praying, he bent his body so that his forehead almost touched his feet; a spectator once counted twelve hundred and forty-four repetitions of this movement, and then lost his reckoning.[d] The stylite took only one scanty meal a-week, and fasted throughout the season of Lent.[e] He uttered prophecies, and wrought an abundance of miracles.[f]

Some time after he had adopted his peculiar manner of life, a neighbouring society of monks sent to ask why he was not content with such fashions of holiness as had

[y] Vita Sym. 1-3 (Patrol. lxxiii. 326); Theodoret. 'Philotheus,' c. 26 (ib. lxxiv. 100); Acta SS., Jan. 5. These accounts are of a very legendary kind.

[z] This seems a necessary correction of *perimeter* in Evagrius, which would allow only a foot for the diameter (Tillem. xv. 361, 365; Gibbon, iii. 356). Theodoret says that Symeon betook himself to the pillar in order to escape the pressure of the crowds which were desirous to touch him. Philoth. col. 103.

[a] Tillem. xv. 361.

[b] Baronius, (460. 17) says eighty years; but Pagi, in his note, shows that this is a mistake.

[c] Evagr. i. 13.

[d] Theod. l. c. 107.

[e] So Tillemont (xv. 358, 365) construes words which others have supposed to mean that he never ate more than once in forty days. Comp. Theod. l. c. 101; Dupin, iv. 99.

[f] Tillem. xv. 370.

sufficed for the saints of earlier days. The messenger was charged to bid him leave his pillar, and, in case of a refusal, to pull him down by force. But Symeon, on hearing the order, put forth one of his feet, as if to descend; whereupon the messenger, as he had been instructed, acknowledged this obedience as a proof that the stylite's mode of life was approved by God, and desired him to continue in it.[g]

Symeon's fame became immense. Pilgrims from distant lands—from Persia and Ethiopia, from Spain, Gaul, and even from Britain—flocked to see him;[h] and during his own lifetime little figures of him were set up in the workshops of Rome, as charms against evil.[i] The king of Persia sent ambassadors to him;[k] he corresponded with bishops and emperors, and influenced the policy both of church and state, while, by his life and his exhortations, he converted multitudes of Saracens and other nomads of the desert.[l]

At length the devil appeared to Symeon in the form of an angel, and in the name of God invited him to ascend, like Elijah, in a fiery chariot, to the company of angels and saints who were represented as eager to welcome him. Symeon raised his right foot to enter the chariot, but at the same time made the sign of the cross, on which the tempter vanished. In punishment of the stylite's having so far given way to presumption, the devil afflicted him with an ulcer in his thigh; and Symeon, by way of penance, resolved that the foot which he had put forth should never again touch his pillar, but during the remaining year of his life supported himself on one leg.[m] Symeon died in 460, at

[g] Evagr. i. 14. Theodore the Reader says that the monks of Egypt excommunicated him for his innovation, but afterwards, on becoming acquainted with his virtues, embraced his communion. ii. 41.

[h] Theodoret. Philoth. col. 102.

[i] Ib. 103.

[k] Ib. 106.

[l] Ib. 104; Vita, 5; Evagr. i. 14.

[m] Vita, 6-7. Neander supposes that the temptation may have passed in Symeon's imagination (iii. 365). Perhaps we may rather consider the story

the age of seventy-two; and we are told that around the spot which had long been his abode, all nature mourned his departure. The birds wheeled about his pillar, uttering doleful cries; men and beasts filled the air with their groans to a distance of many miles; while the mountains, the forests, and the plains were enveloped in a dense and sympathetic gloom. An angel with a countenance like lightning, and in raiment white as snow, appeared discoursing with seven elders, in awful tones, of which the words could not be distinguished; and as the precious body was carried to Antioch, to serve the city as a defence, instead of the walls which had been lately overthrown by an earthquake, a multitude of miracles marked its way.[n]

On Symeon's death, a disciple named Sergius, in obedience to his desire, carried his cowl to the emperor Leo; but, as the emperor did not appear to be sufficiently impressed by the announcement of the legacy, Sergius bestowed it on Daniel, a monk of Mesopotamian birth, whose sanctity had already been attested by many miracles.[o] Daniel had formerly visited Symeon;[p] he was now urged by visions to imitate his manner of life, and set up a pillar in a spot which had been indicated by a dove, about four miles north of Constantinople. The owner of the soil, whose leave had not been asked, complained of this invasion to Leo and to the patriarch Gennadius; and Gennadius, envious of Daniel's holiness,[q] or suspecting him of vanity, was about to dislodge him, when miracles were wrought in vindication of the stylite's motives. Daniel was therefore allowed to retain his position, and after some time Gennadius, whose suspicions were not yet extinct, was directed by a vision to ordain him to the

as invented for the sake of the moral—which seems too healthy to have occurred to the stylite himself.

[n] Vita, 17-21; Evagr i. 14.

[o] Sym. Metaphrastes, in Surius 'Acta Sanctorum,' vi. 850 (Dec. 11), ed. Colon. 1575.

[p] Ib. 847.

[q] Ib. 857

priesthood. The stylite professed himself unworthy, and would not allow the patriarch to approach him; but Gennadius, standing at the foot of the pillar, went through the form of ordination. Daniel then ordered that a ladder should be brought; the patriarch mounted to the top of the column, administered the eucharist to the newly-ordained priest, and received it at his hands.[r]

A.D. 461-494. For thirty-three years Daniel continued to occupy his pillar, until he died at the age of eighty.[s] By continually standing, his feet were covered with sores and ulcers;[t] and it was in vain that his disciples endeavoured to discover by what nourishment he supported life. The high winds of Thrace sometimes stripped him of his scanty clothing, and almost blew him from his place, and sometimes he was covered for days with snow and ice, until Leo forcibly enclosed the top of his pillar with a shed.[u] Like Symeon, he was supposed to possess the gifts of prophecy and miracles; he was regarded as an oracle of heaven, and was visited with reverence by kings and emperors.[x] It is said that, through all the temptations to pride which he so laboriously courted, Daniel was able to preserve his humility; and, although general assertions of this kind carry little weight, perhaps a better evidence may be found in the statement that he discouraged all who approached him with complaints against their bishops.[y]

Although the stylite manner of life was regarded by some teachers as vainglorious and unprofitable,[z] Symeon found many imitators in Syria and in Greece, where stylites are mentioned as late as the twelfth century.[a]

[r] Sym. Metaphrastes, in Surius, 'Acta Sanctorum,' vi. 854.

[s] Ib. 865. [t] Ib. 851, 854.

[u] Ib. 856-7; Baron. 465. 12.

[x] Sym. Metaphr. in Surius, vi. 851, seqq., 864; Baron. 464. 3.

[y] Tillem. xvi. 445.

[z] See the admonitions of St. Nilus to a stylite, Epp. ii. 114-15 (about A.D. 430).

[a] An English pilgrim of the eighth century saw two stylites near Miletus. (Peregr. Willibaldi, 7, ap. Canis. Lectiones Antiq. ii. 109. Some would read

But, except in a very few cases, this fashion does not appear to have been adopted in other countries.[b] When one Wulfilaich, towards the end of the sixth century, attempted to practise it in the district of Treves, the neighbouring bishops ordered his pillar to be demolished.[c]

## V. *Rites and Usages.*

(1.) The more general adoption of Christianity was followed by an increase of splendour in all that concerned the worship of God. Churches were built and adorned with greater cost; the officiating clergy were attired in gorgeous vestures;[d] the music became more elaborate, and many new ceremonies were introduced.[e] But, praiseworthy as was the design of making the outward service as worthy of its object as the means of the worshippers would allow, the change was not unaccompanied by serious evils, which even already began to produce their effects. St. Jerome complains of the magnificence which was lavished on churches—their marble walls and pillars, their gilded ceilings, their jewelled altars—which he contrasts with the neglect of all care in the choice of fit persons for the ministry;[f]

*silice* for *stulite*, but this seems clearly wrong). The title of stylites was given both to those who lived in the open air on the top of pillars, and to those who enclosed themselves in narrow, and sometimes elevated, pillar-like cells. Sometimes these kinds were distinguished as *στυλῖται* and *κιονῖται*, but the usage seems to have varied much. Thus, Nicetas Choniates speaks of Isaac Angelus (A.D. 1185) as having assembled the monks ὅσοι *κίοσι τῆς γῆς ὑπερῄρθησαν* (where Wolf conjectures *ὡσεί*, and the translator makes nonsense by rendering the passage accordingly, pp. 498, 886, ed. Bonn). Eustathius of Thessalonica, in the same century, speaks of stylites as common (Orat. iii. 79; Orat. xxii., "Ad stylitam quendam Thessalonicensem," ed. Tafel, Francof. ad M., 1832); but he seems to mean by *stylites* those who lived *in* pillars, while he gives the name of *κιονῖται* to those who carried about little pillars as a burden, p. 189. See below, Book VI. c. xi. 1.

[b] Evagr. i. 13; Schröckh, viii. 231, Giesel. I. ii. 247.

[c] Greg. Turon. viii. 15.

[d] See Augusti, xi. 299, seqq.

[e] Mosh. i. 374; Schröckh, v. 122; Giesel. I. ii. 291-2.

[f] "Et ministrorum Christi nulla electio est." Cf. Hooker, Eccl. Pol. V. xv. 5.

and he scornfully reprobates the arguments which would defend the richness of furniture and decoration in Christian churches by analogies derived from the Jewish system.[g] Multitudes were drawn into the church by the conversion of the emperor, without any sufficient understanding of their new profession—with minds still possessed by heathen notions and corrupted by the general depravation of heathen morality.[h] The governors of the church attempted to recommend the gospel to such converts by ceremonies which might rival those of their old religion, and so, it was hoped, might attract them to the true and saving essentials with which the Christian ceremonies were connected. But unhappily Christianity itself lost in the process—not only being discredited by unworthy professors, but becoming affected in its doctrines and practices by heathenism.[i] Pagan usages were adopted,[k]—the burning of lamps or candles by day (which, even so lately as the time of Lactantius,[l] had been a subject of ridicule for the Christian controversialists), incense, lustrations, and the like;[m] and there was indeed too much foundation for the reproach with which the Manichæan Faustus assailed the church:—"The sacrifices of the heathen ye have turned into feasts of charity; their idols into martyrs, whom ye honour with the like religious offices unto theirs; the ghosts of the dead ye appease with wine and delicates; the festival

[g] Ep. lii. 10.

[h] Giesel. I. ii. 314; Neand. 'Memorials,' 119-21.

[i] Mosh. i. 347, 369; Schröckh, ix. 292-3.

[k] See Conyers Middleton's 'Letter from Rome,' and Professor Blunt's 'Vestiges of Ancient Manners and Customs in Italy and Sicily' (Lond. 1823). The respected Margaret Professor of our own time is in the Roman Index of prohibited books, as well as the questionable divine of the last century.

[l] "Accendunt lumina [Deo] quasi in tenebris agenti." Lact. Div. Inst. vi. 2 (Patrol. vi.).

[m] These came in gradually. Incense had been censured by Arnobius (vii. 26, Patrol. v.). It is spoken of by Hosius in a passage quoted above, p. 420, n. P, but seemingly in a figurative sense only. The beginning of the actual use is referred to the fifth century. Schröckh, v. 122; ix 294-5; Giesel. I. ii. 292.

days of the nations ye celebrate together with them [as the kalends and the solstices]; and of their kind of life ye have verily changed nothing."[n] A merely external performance of duties, as it was all that heathenism required, came to be regarded by many as sufficient in Christianity also,[o] and bounty to the church was supposed to cover the guilt of sins.[p] St. Augustine says that an ordinary Christian who professed any seriousness in spiritual things had as much to bear from the mockery of his brethren as a convert to Christianity endured from the mockery of the heathen.[q] And we have already had occasion to notice the unfavourable effect which the monastic system produced on the religion of men engaged in secular life.[r]

Many persons were found at church for the great Christian ceremonies, and at the theatres, or even at the temples, for the heathen spectacles.[s] The ritual of the church was viewed as a theatrical exhibition. The sermons were listened to as the displays of rhetoricians; and eloquent preachers were cheered with clapping of hands, stamping of feet, waving of handkerchiefs, cries of "Orthodox!" "Thirteenth apostle!" and other like demonstrations, which such teachers as Chrysostom and Augustine often tried to restrain, in order that they might persuade their flocks to a more profitable manner of hearing.[t] Some went to church for the sermon only, alleging that they could pray at home.[u] And when the more attractive parts of the service were over, the great mass of the people departed, without remaining for the administration of the eucharist, which in the first ages had

[n] Faust. ap. Aug. c. Faust. xx. 4, as translated by Hooker, IV. vii. 2.

[o] Giesel. I. ii. 261.

[p] Neand. iii. 401.

[q] Enarr. in Psalm xlviii. Serm. ii. 4; in Ps. xc. Serm. i. 4.

[r] P. 29.

[s] Salvian. de Gub. Dei, vi. 7; Beugnot, i. 380.

[t] Bingh. XIV. iv. 27; Mosh. i. 372; Schröckh, x. 318-24.

[u] Chrys. de incomprehens. Dei Nat. 6 (t. i. p. 469); Neand. iii. 449; Stephens' S. Chrysostom, 123-4.

usually been received by the whole congregation, but was now (in the Greek church, at least) received by most persons at Easter only.[x] The doctrinal controversies also, which occupy so large a space in the history of the century, acted unfavourably on its religious tone, by bringing the highest mysteries of the faith into idle discussion, and by throwing into the background the necessity of a practically religious life.[y]

Usages which had grown up insensibly were now fixed by express regulations; and by this and the other means which have been mentioned, the ritual system was so overlaid with rules and ceremonies as to give occasion for St. Augustine's well-known complaint, "that they were grown to such a number that the state of Christian people was in worse case concerning that matter than were the Jews."[z] Things which would have been good either as expressions of devotion or as means of training for it, became, through their multiplication and through the importance which was attached to them, too likely to be regarded as independent ends.

(2.) The heathen temples were in some cases turned into churches;[a] but, intended as they were for a ritual which was chiefly carried on in the open courts, and of which addresses to the people formed no part, their

[x] Chrys. in I. Tim. Hom. v. p. 46, ed. Field; Neand. l.c. "Si quotidianus est panis," says the writer of a treatise on the sacraments, which is printed among St. Ambrose's works, but is probably of the seventh or eighth century, "cur post annum illum sumis, quemadmodum Græci in oriente consuerunt?" (v. 25, Patrol. xvi. 452, where see the editor's note; comp. Giesel. I. ii. 320.) "In vain," says St. Chrysostom, contrasting the neglect of ordinary communion with the crowds which flocked to the eucharist at Easter, "*we* stand at the altar to minister the sacrament; *you* remain aloof" (Hom. iii. in Ep. ad Ephes. p. 133, ed. Field). "Hence the communion of the clergy sometimes without the people, although they remained present." Bunsen, 'Hippolytus,' ed. 1, vol. ii. 195.

[y] Giesel. I. ii. 322; Neand. iii. 31.

[z] Ep. lv. 19, as translated in Pref. of English Prayer-Book. His reason is that the Jewish burdens were imposed by a Divine law, but the others by human authority.

[a] Bingh. VIII. ii. 4; Augusti, xi. 351.

structure was ill suited for Christian worship. The type of the Christian churches was taken from buildings of another kind,—the basilicæ; and the name itself was adopted into ecclesiastical use, as signifying the dwelling-places of the Almighty King.[b] These buildings were oblong, and were usually separated by two ranges of pillars into a middle part or nave, and two aisles of inferior height.[c] At the farther end was a portion styled in Greek *bema* (*βῆμα*), and in Latin *tribuna*, distinguished from the rest by the elevation of its floor, and terminating in a semicircular projection, called the *absis* or apse. The lower portion of the building was used as a sort of exchange; in the bema stood the tribunal of the judge, with an altar before it.[d] These arrangements were easily accommodated to the purpose of worship, whether in basilicas which were given up to the church, or in new buildings erected on the same plan.[e]

At Constantinople, from the foundation of the city, a new form of ecclesiastical architecture was employed — its chief characteristics being the cruciform plan, and the cupola which soared upwards from the intersection of the cross, as if in imitation of the canopy of heaven. This style in later times not only prevailed through the Greek church, including the countries of the Slavonic race, but was introduced by Justinian at Ravenna, and

[b] See, as to basilicas, Hope on Architecture, pp. 78, seqq.; Lord Lindsay on Christian Art, i. 11, seqq.; Smith's Dict. of Antiquities, art. *Basilica;* Fergusson's Hist. of Architecture, i. 292-9, 355, seqq.; ii. 290, seqq.; Reumont, i. 633-7; Burn, 'Rome and the Campagna,' xlix.-li. 87. 'Domus Dei *basilica*, id est, *regia*, a Rege . . . nuncupatur." Walafr. Strabo de Rebus Eccl. 7, Patrol cxiv.

[c] This arrangement was not universal. The a lica of Trajan has a double row of pillars on each side, while that at Treves (as to which, however, it is not certain that the name is rightly given to it, Reumont, i. 801) is without pillars. See Mr. Fergusson's illustrations, i. 293, 297. In like manner the basilican churches of St. Peter and St. Paul at Rome had each two aisles on either side of the nave. Ib. 364, 368; Gregorov. i. 90, 99.

[d] Hope, 79; Lindsay, i. 12; Brogne, ii. 171.

[e] Bingh. VIII. i. 5; Giesel. I. II. 285; Milman, ii. 412-15; iii. 488-90. Herzog, art. *Baukunst.*

through the influence of the Ravennese examples affected other parts of western Europe.[f]

Contrary to the practice which afterwards became general among the Teutonic nations, the early churches usually fronted the east.[g] Paulinus of Nola mentions this arrangement, and tells us that he himself, in building his church to the honour of St. Felix, deviated from it by turning the front towards the patron's tomb.[h]

The part of a church nearest to the entrance was the narthex, or vestibule, occupied by penitents and catechumens, and open to all comers. This was separated by the "beautiful gates"[i] from the nave,[k] in which the "faithful" were placed; at the upper end of the nave, in a place corresponding to that which in the secular basilicas was appropriated to the bar, was the choir,[l] slightly raised above the level of the nave, and separated by a railing[m] from the innermost portion of the church, the bema, or sanctuary.[n] From the time of Constantine the wooden altars of the primitive church began to be superseded by stone. The introduction of this material is ascribed to Sylvester of Rome, although without any certain authority, and the change appears to have been completely established before the times of Gregory Nyssen and Chrysostom.[o] Women were seated apart from the men[p]—sometimes in enclosed galleries,[q] an arrangement which was especially followed in eastern countries. The church was

[f] Lindsay, i. 62, seqq.; Fergusson, ii. 286, seqq.

[g] Fergusson, Handbook, (Lond. 1855) 516.

[h] Ep. xxxii. 13 (Patrol. lxi.).

[i] The use of this term seems to have varied. See Neale's 'Holy Eastern Church,' Introd. i. 197-8.

[k] Gr. *ναός*: Lat. *navis* (a ship).

[l] Caumont, 'Abécédaire d'Archéologie,' i. 9.

[m] *κίγκλίδες*, *cancelli*. Suicer in voc.

[n] Bingh. VIII. iii.; Giesel. I. ii. 285. See Neale, i. 172-6, 194; Fergusson, i. 360.

[o] Augusti, viii. 169.

[p] Aug. de Civ. Dei, ii. 28.

[q] Milman, iii. 490; Lindsay, i. 14, Neale, i. 206. Mr. Hope says that the male and female suitors were separated in the aisles of the secular basilicas (p. 79). These had also very commonly galleries for spectators, in which the sexes were separated. Smith's Dict. of Antiquities.

usually surrounded by a court, containing the lodgings of the clergy and other buildings, among which, in cathedrals and other greater churches, was the baptistery.[r] Churches were now dedicated with great solemnity, and the anniversary of the consecration was celebrated.[s]

(3.) The arts of painting and sculpture began to be taken into the service of the gospel. This change, however, did not originate with the clergy. Eusebius of Cæsarea, in the early part of the century, expressed himself strongly against the attempt to represent the holy personages of Scripture—saying that the glory of the Saviour cannot be represented, and that the true image of the saints is a saintly life.[t] Epiphanius, bishop of Constantia in Cyprus (whose name will again come before us), while travelling in the Holy Land in 394, tore a curtain, which he found hanging before the sanctuary of a church, with a figure either of the Saviour or of a saint painted on it—declaring such representations to be contrary to Scripture.[u] But the account of the incident shows that new views as to their lawfulness had already obtained a footing among Christians. It was usual to depict subjects from the Old

[r] Bingh. VIII. vii.; Augusti, xi. 398-406; Lindsay, i. 31.

[s] Bingh. VIII. ix.; Neand. iii. 403.

[t] The letter of Eusebius to Constantia (sister of Constantine the Great), is partly quoted in the second council of Nicæa, A.D. 787 (Hard. iv. 405), but is given most fully by Card. Pitra in the 'Spicilegium Solesmense,' i. 383-6. He says (p. 386) that the followers of Simon Magus were said to have worshipped images of the heresiarch, and that he himself had seen an image of Manes, which was honoured by the Manichæans; but that such things were to be rejected by Christians. In his history he mentions images at Paneas, which were believed to represent the Saviour and the Syrophœnician woman, and supposes them to be of heathen production, since the heathens were accustomed to express gratitude for benefits by erecting such memorials (vii. 18). See Suicer, s. v. αἱμορρόουσα. Nicephorus, patriarch of Constantinople in the ninth century, argues for images against Eusebius, in a treatise which is published in the 'Spicilegium Solesmense,' and decries his authority on the ground that he was an Arian.

[u] The account is given by himself, in a letter which was translated by St. Jerome (Ep. li. 9). Baronius (392. 249, seqq.) boldly maintains that this is a spurious addition to the epistle. But Dr. Newman (n. on Fleury, i. 231) says that "there seems no question" of its genuineness. See Basnage, 1327; Augusti, xii. 181.

Testament as figurative of their evangelical antitypes: thus the water from the rock was employed to signify baptism; Moses bringing the manna from heaven represented the eucharist; and the sacrifice of Isaac typified the crucifixion.[x] In addition to these symbolical pictures, the walls of many churches were covered with martyrdoms and scriptural scenes, and wealthy persons had their garments embroidered with subjects of the same kinds.[y] It was not, however, until the very end of the century that single figures were thus painted—a sort of pictures the most likely to attract the honour which was soon bestowed on them.[z] St. Augustine reluctantly confesses that in his time many were "adorers of pictures."[a] Statues were not yet erected; nor was the Saviour himself represented, otherwise than in symbolical forms,[b] until the next century; although the teachers of the church, abandoning the earlier view as to the uncomeliness of his personal appearance,[c] took up one of an opposite kind,[d] and thus prepared the way for the introduction of that type on which the artists of later ages have expressed their ideal of serene majesty and tenderness.[e]

The cross was adorned with gems and gold, and was

[x] Lindsay, i. 47; Ozanam, ii. 275. See above, p. 243.

[y] Schröckh, ix. 221-2; Giesel. I. ii. 282-3. See Paulinus, Poëma 28.

[z] Giesel. I. ii. 284. See on the whole subject Dr. Pusey, in Tertullian, Oxf. transl., i. 109-16.

[a] De Morib. Eccl. Cath. i. 34.

[b] For instance, as a beardless youth—"to signify the everlasting prime of eternity" (Lindsay, i. 42). It is related that a painter of Constantinople, in the patriarchate of Gennadius (A.D. 458-471), having represented the Saviour under the form of Jupiter, was punished by the withering of his hand, which was restored at the patriarch's prayer. (Theod. Lector. i. 15; Georg. Hamartol. ccix. 3)—φασὶ δέ τινες τῶν ἱστορικῶν, adds Hamartolus, ὅτι τὸ σῶμα καὶ ὀλιγότριχον ἐπὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σχῆμα οἰκειότερόν ἐστιν.

[c] See p. 245.

[d] *E.g.* Hieron. Ep. lxv. 8, where Isaiah liii. 2 is reconciled with Ps. xlv. 2, by supposing that in the former, "ignobilitas corporis propter flagella et sputa et alapas et clavos et injurias patibuli commemoratur." Cf. Luc. Tudens. adv. Albigenses, in Bibl. Patr. xxv. 237, G.

[e] Mosh. i. 347; Milman, iii. 503-8; Lindsay, i. 76-7.

perhaps set upon the altars of churches.[f] Julian charged the Christians with worshipping it.[g] But the crucifix, like all other representations of our Lord which are associated with sorrow and suffering, was not known until some centuries later.[h]

(4.) During the fourth century much was done to fix those parts of the liturgy which until then had been fluctuating.[i] The name of St. Basil in the east, and that of St. Ambrose in the west, are especially celebrated in relation to this work, although both have been connected with much that is of later date.[k] The hymns of Ambrose became the models for such compositions in the western church,[l] and, from the general designation of the style as Ambrosian, it came to pass that many pieces were wrongly ascribed to him, as if they had been the productions of his own pen.[m]

[f] Bingh. VIII. vi. 20; Neand. iii. 406. For the variety of ways in which the cross was used as a sign, or as an ornament, see Chrys. adv. Jud. et Gent. c. 9. (Opera, i. 571).

[g] Ap. Cyrill. c. Jul. p. 194.

[h] Giesel. ii. 284; Milm. iii. 513-14. Kugler (Handbook of Italian Painting, transl. by Eastlake, ed. 2, p. 11) refers it to the eighth century. Augusti says that Cardinal Borgia supposes a crucifix given by Leo III. (about A.D. 800) to St. Peter's to be the earliest known specimen; but he himself, on grounds which appear extremely vague, would carry the use of the crucifix up to very early times (xii. 119-22). A bronze crucifix in the gallery of the Uffizi, at Florence, has been referred (but it would seem wrongly) by some to the fourth century (Grüneisen in Herzog, art. *Crucifix*). The 82nd canon of the Trullan council, in the end of the seventh century, has been supposed to bear on this subject. (Ib., and see hereafter in the account of that council.) Symbolical representations, like the "volto santo" at Lucca, where the Saviour appears on the cross but crowned and fully draped (Gregorov. ii. 249), seem to have been earlier than the attempt to exhibit his sufferings literally. The pagan caricature already mentioned (p. 14) cannot be regarded as proving that, in the time to which it belongs, serious representations of the crucifixion were in use among the Christians.

[i] Bingh. VII. v.; Giesel. I. i. 294.

[k] Palmer's 'Origines Liturgicæ,' ed. 2, pp. 66-7, 125-33; Guéranger, Instit. Liturgiques, i. 195.

[l] Schröckh, xiv. 313-15; Guéranger, i. 114; Herzog, art. *Ambrosianischer Kirchengesang*.

[m] Bähr. Christl.-röm. Litteratur, i. 37. In the Benedictine edition of St. Ambrose (Patrol. xvi. 1409-12) twelve hymns are given as genuine; but Dom Biraghi ('Inni Sinceri di S. Ambrogio,' Milan, 1862) admits only seven of these. Wordsworth's Tour in Italy, i. 114.

The division of the service into the "mass of the catechumens" and the "mass of the faithful" was maintained, until, in the fifth century, its abolition naturally followed on the general profession of Christianity and the general practice of infant baptism.[n] Now that the celebration of Christian worship was not attended with danger, the earlier portion of the service—including psalmody, reading of Scripture, prayers, and sermon—was open to Jews and heathens, as well as to catechumens and penitents.[o]

(5.) At baptism some new ceremonies were introduced —as the use of lights and salt,[p] and an unction with oil before baptism (significant of the receivers' being "made kings and priests unto God"),[q] in addition to that with chrism, which continued to be administered after the sacrament.[r] The previous training was methodized by a division of the catechumens into three classes,—hearers, kneelers, and competents,—the last being candidates who were fully prepared.[s] The vigils of Easter and Pentecost were, as before, the most usual times for baptism.[t] In the east, the Epiphany became popular as a baptismal season, connected as it was with the Saviour's baptism in the Jordan,[u] and the administration at Whitsuntide was disused.[x] The custom of baptizing on the Epiphany also made its way into Africa[y] and other western countries; but when some Spanish bishops baptized at Christmas, Epiphany, and on the festivals of saints, Siricius, in his decretal

[n] It has been argued that the division continued longer; but all that can be inferred from the facts collected by Pagi (xi. 459-62) is, that something of the kind was in some cases practised by missionaries as late as the seventh century.

[o] Concil. Carthag. IV. A.D. 398, c. 84; Giesel. I. ii. 293-4.

[p] Augusti, vii. 299, 315.

[q] Rev. i. 6; I Pet. ii. 5, 9.

[r] Augusti, vii. 297; Bingh. XI. ix. 1-2; Giesel. I. ii. 295.

[s] Martene, i. 12; Bingham, X. ii. There were, however, differences as to the division. Augusti, xi. 50-3.

[t] Martene, i. 1.

[u] See p. 240.

[x] Augusti, i. 334; vii. 174, seqq. Neand. iii. 460.

[y] Martene, i. 2, where other customs are given.

epistle to Himerius (A.D. 385), noted it as a presumption, and ordered that baptism should not ordinarily be given except at Easter and Whitsuntide.[z]

The practice of deferring baptism has been exemplified in many instances[a] in the preceding chapters. The delay, however, did not arise from any opinion that the baptism of infants was unlawful (for in case of danger they were baptized, and the institution was regarded as apostolical), but from fear lest a greater guilt should be contracted by falling into sin after baptism.[b] And the time to which the sacrament was postponed was not, as with modern sectaries, that of attaining to years of discretion; but the season of serious illness or other danger, or, in the case of clergymen and monks, that of entering on a new and strict manner of life. Eminent teachers of the church, as Gregory of Nazianzum and his namesake of Nyssa, endeavoured to counteract the custom by exposing the mistakes on which it rested.[c] Gregory of Nyssa states that, when alarmed by earthquakes, pestilence, or other public calamities, such multitudes rushed to be baptized, that the clergy were oppressed by the labour of receiving them.[d]

(6.) The customs of churches varied as to the frequency of celebrating the eucharist.[e] Where there was no daily consecration, it was usual to reserve the consecrated bread, which thus became liable to be used for superstitious purposes; as we are told that Satyrus, a brother of St. Ambrose, was saved in a shipwreck by

[z] Siric. ad Himer. ii. (Hard. i. 847); comp. Leo, Ep. xvi. (Patrol. liv.). There is a dissertation by Launoy, 'De priscis et solemnioribus Baptismi Temporibus' (Opera, t. x. Par. 1663).

[a] *E.g.*, Constantine, Constantius, Valentinian I., Valens, Gratian, Valentinian II., Theodosius; Gregory of Nazianzum, Basil, Ambrose, Nectarius, Jerome.

[b] Augustin. Conf. i. 11; Schröckh, xiii. 414; Neand. iii. 452-5.

[c] Greg. Naz. Orat. xl. 12, seqq.; Greg. Nyss. 'Adv. eos qui differunt Baptisma,' in vol. iii. of his Works.

[d] T. iii. p. 217.

[e] See Basil, Ep. 93; Aug. Ep. liv. 2; Augusti, viii. 150. On the doctrine of the eucharist in this age, see Gieseler, I. ii. 296-7.

tying a morsel of the holy bread to his neck;[f] and that in another case the application of such bread, by way of a poultice, opened the eyes of a blind person.[g] When the elements were consecrated, the people partook of both; to refuse the wine was noted as a token of Manichæan heresy.[h]

(7.) The name of *agape* was now used in a sense different from that which it had originally borne—to designate festivals held by churches at the tombs of their martyrs, or by families at those of their relatives.[i] These festivals took the place of the heathen Parentalia, and were celebrated with so much of unseemliness and excess that bishops and councils, during the latter part of the century, exerted themselves to suppress them. But so great a hold had such celebrations on the multitude, that the abolition of them was no easy matter, and could hardly be attempted without danger. Thus the third council of Carthage, in 397, does not venture to forbid them, except "as far as possible";[k] and notices of them are found as having continued in some places until the following century.[l]

(8.) The Lord's day was observed with greater strictness than before, although the distinction between it and the Sabbath, as to origin, authority, and manner of observance, was still carefully maintained.[m] Constantine, as

Satyrus was at the time only a catechumen, but obtained the bread from a communicant. Ambr. de Excessu Frat. Satyri, i. 43.

[g] Aug. Op. Imperf. c. Julian. iii. 162.

[h] Leo, Serm. xlii. 5 (Patrol. liv.).

[i] Conc. Laod. A.D. 372 (?); c. 28; Fleury, xx. 11; Suicer, s. v. ἀγάπη, col. 27. St. Augustine mentions that his mother, while at Milan, wishing to observe her African custom of carrying cakes and wine to the tombs of the martyrs, was told that St. Ambrose had forbidden it. (Confess. vi. 2.) Augustine himself was very active in endeavouring to put down the practice of eating and drinking in churches, both within his own diocese, and by urging other bishops to act in the matter. Epp. 22, 29; De Mor. Eccl. Cath. i. 34, &c.; Bindemann, ii. 336, seqq.

[k] C. 30.

[l] Baron. 391. 39; Bingh. XV. vii. 9; Neand. iii. 475; Giesel. I. ii. 299-300; Milman, iii. 435, 444.

[m] Hessey, Bampt. Lect. 114.

we have seen,[n] ordered that no legal proceedings and no military exercises should take place on it; yet he allowed agricultural labour to be carried on, lest the benefit of favourable weather should be lost. The council of Laodicea, while it condemned all Judaizing in the observance of the day, directed that labour should be avoided on it as much as possible.[o] Theodosius in 379, and again in 386, enacted that no civil business should then be done, and abolished the spectacles in which the heathen had found their consolation when the day was set apart from other secular uses by Constantine.[p]

The custom of observing the Sabbath in a similar manner to the Lord's day[q] was now declining. The Laodicean canon, which has just been quoted, denounced a cessation from work on it as Judaical.[r]

(9.) The quartodeciman practice as to the observance of Easter was condemned by the council of Nicæa, and was thenceforth regarded as a mark of heterodoxy.[s] But as the council did not direct by what means the proper day should be determined, it was found that, although Easter was everywhere kept on a Sunday, the reckonings of different churches varied, sometimes to the extent of a month or more.[t] The science of Alexandria gave the law to the eastern churches in general; and in the sixth century the Alexandrian calculation was adopted at Rome.[u]

The tendency of the age to an increase of ceremonies affected the celebration of Easter. The week before the

[n] P. 260; Cod. Just. III. xii. 3.

[o] Εἴγε δύναιντο, C. 29. See Bingham, XX. ii. 3; Hessey, 109.

[p] Cod. Theod. VIII. viii. 3; XI. vii. 13; XV. v. 2. See the Code, t. i. 1.0-1.

[q] See p. 239.

[r] C. 29. See Neand. iii. 421-2.

[s] See, *e.g.*, Conc. Antioch. A.D. 341, c. 1; Conc. Laod. c. 7. Some of the eastern Novatianists, although generally orthodox, adhered to it. Soc. v. 21.

[t] Bingh. XX. v. 4; Neand. iii. 426-8; Guericke, i. 399; Kaye, Athan. 23-8. See Hefele, i. 303, seqq., 313-16, 583; De Rossi, i. 352-6.

[u] Smith, Dissertat. in Bedam (Pa-

festival was observed with additional solemnity. On the Thursday the eucharist was celebrated in the evening, in special remembrance of its original institution;[x] on Easter-eve, "the great Sabbath," cities were illuminated,[y] and crowds of worshippers, carrying lights, symbolical of the baptismal "enlightening," flocked to the churches, where they continued in vigil until the morning of the resurrection. The following week was a season of rejoicing; the newly-baptized wore their white robes until the Sunday of the octave.[z]

The Epiphany now made its way from the eastern churches into the west, where it was kept chiefly in remembrance of our Lord's manifestation to the magi, but also with a reference to his first miracle and other manifestations.[a] As the Donatists rejected the festival,[b] we may infer that it must have been unknown in Africa until after the date of their separation from the church; the earliest express notice of its celebration in any western country is in 360, when Julian kept it at Vienne, shortly before avowing his apostasy.[c] In like manner the observance of the Nativity passed from the west to the east. It was introduced at Antioch soon after 375, and was there kept on the 25th of December, although some churches combined it with the Epiphany.[d] The idea that our Christmas-day was chosen from a wish to compensate for the heathen festivals of the season is refuted by the fact that the policy of the earlier Christians, from whom it had come down, met the festivities of the heathen by appointing not feasts, but fasts. Thus, in the

trol. xcv. 320-3); Giesel. I. ii. 289-90; Hefele, i. 319; De Rossi, I. lxxxvii.-viii.

[x] Aug. Ep. liv. 6-9.

[y] Euseb. V. Const. iv. 22.

[z] Bingh. XX. v. 12; Augusti, ii. 217; vii. 172.

[a] Aug. Serm. ccii. 1.

[b] Ib. 2

[c] P. 338; Bingh. XX. iv.; Neand. iii. 435.

[d] Schröckh, x. 349-56. St. Chrysostom, in a homily on the Nativity, preached at Antioch in 386, says that it was not yet ten years since the introduction of the festival there. T. ii. p. 515.

west, a fast of three days at the beginning of the year was established in opposition to the Saturnalia.[e]

The festivals of some of the most distinguished saints, such as St. Peter and St. Paul, St. John the Baptist and St. Stephen, from having had only a local celebration, became, in the fourth century, general throughout the church.[f]

The practice of fasting, which had formerly been left in great measure to the discretion of individuals, was now settled by ecclesiastical laws.[g] The Lenten fast, of thirty-six days, "a tithe of the year,"[h] became general both in the east and in the west, although with a difference as to its beginning, from the circumstance that in the east the Sabbath, as well as the Lord's day, was excepted from the time of fasting.[i]

Acts of mercy were connected with certain holy days and seasons. Thus Constantine ordered that the emancipation of slaves should take place on Sundays. While he forbade legal proceedings in general on Sunday, he excepted the ceremony of emancipation, and such other acts of grace as were suitable to the character of the day.[k] Easter became the chief season for emancipation.[l] Theodosius in 380 forbade the carrying on of criminal law-proceedings during Lent.[m] Nine years later he issued a like prohibition of all bodily punishments during the same season;[n] and in 387 he renewed the laws of the elder and younger Valentinians, by which it was ordered that

[e] Schröckh, ix. 281, 293; Neand. iii. 441-7; Guericke, i. 401. Leo the Great says that the Nativity is to be kept, not with carnal, but with spiritual joy. Hom. xxii. 5.

[f] Neand. iii. 473; Guericke, i. 409-11.

[g] Giesel. I. ii. 286-7; Neand. iii. 429.

[h] Cassian. Coll. xxi. 25; Greg. Magn. Hom. in Evang. xvi. 5. The four days before the first Sunday were added in the west at a later time—some say by Gregory the Great, others by Gregory II. Bingh. XXI. i. 5; Augusti, x. 401.

[i] Bingh. XXI. i. 4; Augusti, i. 158

[k] Cod. Theod. II. viii. 1.

[l] Augusti, ii. 231.

[m] Cod. Theod. IX. xxxv. 4.

[n] Ib. 5.

all prisoners, except those guilty of the very worst offences, should be released at Easter.[o]

(10.) During the course of the century many canons were made on the subject of penance, which was thus carried into great minuteness of detail. In the east the regulation of penance was ordinarily left to the consciences of individuals; especially after Nectarius, in consequence of a scandal which had occurred, abolished the office of penitentiary presbyter at Constantinople in 391. Socrates, who wrote about the year 439,[p] expresses an apprehension of evil results from the abolition, and Sozomen, somewhat later, states that a deterioration of morals had ensued. The office of penitentiary does not appear to have existed in the west;[q] and there the performance of formal penance came to be regarded as necessary in order to the Divine forgiveness. The ancient division of penitents into classes is not mentioned after the fifth century.[r]

(11.) The honours paid to martyrs were naturally increased, as, from the cessation of persecution, the opportunities of martyrdom became very rare.[s] And the influence of heathenism told most unhappily in this matter. Converts regarded the martyrs as holding a place in their new religion like that of the heroes in the pagan system; they ascribed to them a tutelary power, and paid them honours such as those which belonged to the lesser personages of the pagan mythology.[t] Nor was the Arian controversy without its effect in directing men's

[o] Val. I. A.D. 367-8, in Cod. Th. IX. xxxviii. 3-4; Val. II. A.D. 381-4, ib. 6-8. The law of Theodosius is not in the Code. See Godefroy, t. ii. 272.

[p] This is the year to which his history reaches. Clinton, ii. 471.

[q] Augusti thinks that it did. ix. 122.

[r] Soc. v. 19; Soz. vii. 16; Hooker, VI. iv. 8, seqq.; Thomass. II. i. 7, 12; Bingh. XVIII. iii. 12; Planck, i. 511-15; Giesel. I. ii. 321-6; Tillemont (x. 233) questions some part of the story as to the abolition of penitentiaries, and other Roman-catholic writers question more.

[s] Schröckh, ix. 166.

[t] Giesel. I. ii. 263.

minds unduly towards the saints and martyrs. For, as the great object of orthodox controversialists, in the fourth century, was to vindicate the Saviour's divinity, and thus his manhood was comparatively little spoken of, he was now in thought removed further from mankind; a want of less exalted intercessors was felt, and a reverence for nearer objects grew up.[u] From the middle of the century it became usual to deliver panegyrical orations on the days assigned to the commemoration of martyrs. The preachers, feeling themselves bound to make the most of their subjects on such occasions, ran out into glorifications of the martyrs, which, if at first intended only as rhetorical ornaments, were soon converted into matter of doctrine.[x] In addition to the earlier belief that the martyrs interceded for their brethren, it was now supposed that they were cognisant of wishes addressed to them. The popular heathen opinion, that the spirits of the dead continued to hover about the resting-places of their bodies, was combined with the idea that the souls of the martyrs were already in the presence of God. Hence arose a practice of invoking them at their graves, and requesting their intercession for all manner of temporal as well as spiritual benefits;[y] and by degrees such addresses came to be put up irrespectively of place.[z] Poetry too contributed to advance the movement; the invocations which heathens had addressed to their gods and muses were transferred by Christian poets to the saints.[a] Other holy persons—as the worthies of Scripture and distinguished monks—were soon associated with the martyrs in the general

[u] Milman, iii. 740.

[x] Schröckh, ix. 170-3.

[y] Euseb. Præpar. Evangel. xiii. 11; Theodoret, t. iv. pp. 605-6.

[z] Schröckh, ix. 173-80, 191; Giesel. I. ii. 266-8; Milman, iii. 542. See, for example, Gregory Nazianzen's invocations to St. Athanasius and St. Basil, Orat. xxi. 27; xliii. 72.

[a] Schröckh, vii. 115; ix. 190; Giesel. I. ii. 269. See the quotation from Damasus, above, p. 359, n. °.

veneration.[b] Yet the prayers which had in earlier times been offered up for saints and martyrs, in common with the rest of the faithful departed, were retained, notwithstanding their growing inconsistency with the prevalent belief, until in the beginning of the fifth century they were abandoned as derogatory to the objects of them.[c] Saints were, like the heathen gods, chosen as special patrons, not only by individuals, but by cities.[d] It was not without plausible grounds that heathens, as Julian and Eunapius, began to retort on Christians the charge of worshipping dead men,[e] and that the Manichæans, as we have seen,[f] joined in the reproach. St. Augustine strenuously repelled it;[g] he exhorted to an imitation of saints in their holiness, and endeavoured, as did also St. Chrysostom, to oppose the tendency towards an undue exaltation of them. But before his time practices nearly akin to worship of the saints had too surely made their way into the popular belief and feeling, as indeed Augustine is himself obliged to confess.[h]

The bodies of martyrs began to be treated with special honour. Altars and chapels were built over their graves;[i] their relics were transferred from the original places of burial, were broken up into fragments, of which each was supposed to possess a supernatural virtue,[k] and were deposited under the altars of churches.[l] There is no men-

[b] Giesel. I. ii. 270.

[c] Ib. 271.

[d] Theodoret, t. iv. 593-4.

[e] Julian. ap. Cyrill. l. x. p. 335; Eunap. p. 472, ed. Boissonade, Par. 1849; Schröckh, v. 134; ix. 167; Giesel. I. ii. 275.

[f] P. 44.

[g] Ep. xvii. 5; C. Faust. xx. 21; De Civ. Dei, viii. 27; xxii. 10.

[h] Aug. de Moribus Eccl. Cath. i. 34; Schröckh, vii. 267; ix. 169, 187-9; Giesel. I. ii. 272-3

[i] Giesel. I. ii. 264.

[k] Theodoret, t. iv. p. 594.

Giesel. I. ii. 265. Cæcilian of Carthage, in the beginning of the century, reproved Lucilla for kissing the bone of a supposed martyr (see p. 270); yet the reverence for relics is soon after found prevailing throughout the Church. Romanists say that the objection in Lucilla's case was only directed against the paying honour to one who had not been acknowledged by the church as a martyr; but, although this circum-

tion of such translations in the account of the churches built by Constantine; but in the reign of Constantius some bodies, supposed to be those of apostles, were found, and were solemnly removed to Constantinople.[m] We are told that remains of other Scripture saints, as far back as the prophet Samuel, and even the patriarch Joseph, were afterwards discovered; and, in order to prevent the risk of mistake as to bodies which had been lying in the earth for hundreds or thousands of years, the saints themselves were said to have appeared in visions, and to have revealed the places of their interment.[n] There was a readiness to believe that every grave of an unknown person was that of a martyr. St. Martin, it is said, by praying over a grave which had been thus honoured, called up a shade of ferocious appearance, and forced the supposed martyr to avow that he had been a robber, and had been executed for his crimes.[o]

It has been already related that St. Antony disapproved of the Egyptian manner of showing reverence for saints by keeping their bodies above ground, and took measures for escaping such honours.[p] St. Hilarion, the founder of monasticism in Palestine, having died in Cyprus, one of his disciples, Hesychius (who was himself

stance is mentioned by Optatus as an aggravation, his words seem to be against the superstitious use of relics altogether. ("Os nescio cujus martyris, si tamen martyris, libare dicebatur; et cum præponeret calici salutari *os hominis mortui, et, si martyris, sed necdum vindicati*, correpta, cum confusione discessit irata." l. i. 16.) And, even if the suggested limitation were admitted, we must remember that the interval between Cæcilian and Optatus was precisely the time when the general veneration of relics was introduced; so that Optatus may unconsciously have given something of a turn to the story. See Schröckh, ix 209.

[m] Hieron. Chron. A.D. 360; Gibbon, iii. 23.

[n] Soz. vii. 21; Marcellin. A.D. 453 (Patrol. li.), and Baron. 391. 7-14 (as to St. John Baptist); Chron. Pasch. A.D. 406 (for Samuel); Pagi, vii. 70 as to Joseph); Giesel. I. ii. 269. See against the erection of altars in consequence of dreams and "inanes revelationes," Conc. Carth. V. A.D. 400, c. 14.

[o] Sulp. Sever. Vita Martini, 11. Cf. Eunap. Vit. Ædes. p. 472. See Mabillon, De Cultu Sanctorum ignotorum (Analecta, 552, seqq.).

[p] P. 6.

afterwards canonized) stole[q] his body from the grave, and carried it off to the Holy Land. A rivalry ensued between the places of the two interments,—the Cypriots maintaining that, if the saint's body were in Palestine, his spirit remained with themselves; and miracles were said to be performed at both.[r] In another case, the possession of the remains of some monks who had been slain by the Saracens was disputed with bloodshed by the inhabitants of two neighbouring towns.[s]

Relics were supposed to work miracles; they were worn as amulets, and the churches in which they were preserved were hung (although perhaps not before the next century) with models of limbs which had been restored to strength through their virtue.[t] Pretended relics were imposed on the credulous, and various abuses arose. For the purpose of restraining these, Theodosius enacted, in 386, that no one should buy or sell the bodies of martyrs, or should translate them from one place to another.[u]

The blessed Virgin Mary was not as yet honoured above other saints.[x] The Collyridians,[y] a party of female devotees who passed from Thrace into Arabia in the last years of the century, are noted as heretics for offering cakes to her with rites which were perhaps derived from the heathen worship of Ceres.[z] But with the growing admiration of the virgin life, of which St. Mary was regarded as the type, there was a progress of feeling towards

[q] Κλέψας, Soz. iii. 14; "furatus est," Hieron. Vita Hilar. 46.

[r] Ib. 47.

[s] Cass. Collat. vi. 1. See in Gregory of Tours, i. 43, the dispute between the men of Tours and those of Poitiers for the body of St. Martin. Night interrupted the discussion, and both parties joined to guard the relics; but the Poitevins were miraculously thrown into a deep sleep, and their rivals triumphantly carried off the prize.

[t] Theodoret, t. iv. p. 606. See Blunt's Vestiges.

[u] Cod. Theod. IX. xvii. 7. "Distrahat" in this law seems certainly to mean *selling*, although Gfrörer renders it by *zerstückeln* (to pull to pieces), ii. 763.

[x] Augusti, xiii. 6.

[y] From κολλυρίς, diminutive of κολλύρα, a cake.

[z] Epiphan. lxxix. 1; Walch, iii. 623-34.

opinions which became more decided during the controversies of the following century.[a] On the other hand, the perpetual virginity of the Saviour's mother was denied by the anomœan Eunomius,[b] by some of the Apollinarians,[c] by Helvidius,[d] a Roman lawyer (A.D. 383), and Bonosus,[e] bishop of Sardica (A.D. 392); and a sect of *Antidicomarianites* (adversaries of Mary), called forth by the extravagances of the Collyridians, is mentioned as having existed in Arabia.[f]

Anything like worship of angels was as yet supposed to be expressly forbidden by Scripture. St. Ambrose is the only father of this age who recommends invocation of guardian angels.[g]

(12.) From the time of the empress Helena's visit to the Holy Land, a great impulse was given to the practice of pilgrimage.[h] It was supposed, not only that the view of scenes hallowed by their association with the events of Scripture would enkindle or heighten devotion, but that prayers would be especially acceptable if offered up in particular spots; and, as had been the case under the heathen system, some places were believed to be distinguished by frequent miracles.[i] From all quarters—even from the distant Britain[k]—pilgrims flocked to the sacred sites of Palestine, and on their return they carried home with them water from the Jordan, earth from the Redeemer's sepulchre, or chips of the true cross, which was speedily found to possess the power of reproducing itself.[l] Many, it is said, were even led by their uncritical

[a] Schröckh, ix. 198; Giesel. I. ii. 275-7.

[b] Philostorg. vi. 2.

[c] Epiph. lxxvii. 26.

[d] Hieron. c. Helv. (t. ii.); Walch, iii. 586.

[e] Ambr. de Inst. Virg. 35; Walch, iii. 598.

[f] Epiph. lxxviii.

[g] Conc. Laod. A.D. 372 (?), c. 35; Aug. de Civ. Dei, x. 19; Ambros. de Viduis 9; Augusti, iii. 281-4; Giesel i. 278; Hagenb. i. 342.

[h] Schröckh, v. 135-6, 138-42; Milman, ii. 418.

[i] Mosh. i. 347; Schröckh, ix. 224-5.

[k] Hieron. Ep. xlvi. 10; Pallad. Hist. Laus. 118.

[l] Cyril of Jerusalem, although cited by Baronius (326. 50) as a witness for

devotion to visit Arabia for the purpose of beholding the dunghill on which the patriarch Job endured his trials.[m] Pilgrimage became a fashion, and soon exhibited the evil characteristics of a fashion, so that already warnings were uttered against the errors and abuses which were connected with it. The monk St. Hilarion, during his residence of fifty years in Palestine, visited the holy sites but once, and for a single day—in order, as he said, that he might neither appear to despise them on account of their nearness, nor to suppose that God's grace was limited to any particular place.[n] St. Gregory of Nyssa wrote a treatise for the express purpose of dissuading from pilgrimage. Among our Lord's beatitudes, he says, there is none for those who shall visit Jerusalem. For women the pilgrimage must be, at the least, distracting, since they cannot perform it without male companions; and there is continual danger from the promiscuous society of the hostelries on the way. The Saviour is no longer bodily in the holy places; He and the Holy Spirit are not confined to Jerusalem. Change of place will not bring God nearer to us: wherever we are, He will come to us, if our hearts be a fit abode for Him to "dwell in and walk in"; but if the inner man be full of evil thoughts, although we were at Golgotha, on the Mount of Olives, or at the memorial of the Resurrection, we are as far from receiving Christ within us as they who have not even begun to feel Him. For himself, Gregory says that he had made the pilgrimage, not out of curiosity, but on his way to a council in Arabia, and had escaped the usual dangers by travelling in an imperial carriage, and in the company of religious brethren: yet the sight of the localities had added

the multiplication of the wood, in reality speaks only of the dispersion of fragments throughout the world. (Catech. iv. 10.) But Paulinus of Nola, in a distant country, and half a century later, speaks of the reproduction. Ep. xxxi. 6.

[m] Chrys. ad. Pop. Ant. Hom. v. 1 (t. ii.).

[n] Hieron. Ep. lviii. 3.

nothing to his belief of the nativity, the resurrection, of the ascension; while the desperate wickedness of the inhabitants had proved to him that there could be no special grace in the places, and had taught him to value more highly than before the religion of his own Cappadocia. Monks (he says) ought to endeavour to go on pilgrimage from the body to the Lord, rather than from Cappadocia to Palestine.[o] Even Jerome—although he had fixed his abode in the Holy Land, and although in some of his writings he expatiates on the influence of its hallowed associations[p]—yet elsewhere very earnestly warns against the delusions by which the multitude of pilgrims was led thither. "It is not matter of praise," he tells Paulinus, "to have been at Jerusalem, but to have lived religiously at Jerusalem.[q] The scenes of the crucifixion and of the resurrection are profitable to such as bear their own cross and daily rise again with Christ—to those who show themselves worthy of so eminent a dwelling-place. But as for those who say 'The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord'—let them hear the apostle's words —'Ye are the temple of the Lord, and the Holy Spirit dwelleth in you.' The court of heaven is open to access from Jerusalem and from Britain alike; 'for the kingdom of God is within you.'"[r]

[o] 'De iis qui adeunt Hierosolyma,' Opera, ii. 1084-7. This tract has given much trouble to Romanists. Some have attempted to prove it spurious; Baronius (386. 48), while allowing its genuineness, contends that it applies only to persons who had embraced the monastic life, and is not meant to discourage others from pilgrimage. But, although specially addressed to monks, it has certainly a wider scope. See Fabric. ix. 120.

[p] *E.g.* Epp. xlvi. 4; xlvii. 2; cviii. 8, seqq.

[q] This is imitated from Cicero pro Murena, 12: "Non Asiam nunquam vidisse, sed in Asia continenter vixisse laudandum est."

[r] Ep. lviii. 2-3. For similar cautions from Chrysostom and Augustine see Augusti, x. 123-6, 129-31.

## VI. *Opposition to the Tendencies of the Age.*

The novel ideas and practices which were introduced into the church excited the mockery of the older sects —such as the Novatianists and the Manichæans— who loudly charged the catholics with paganism.[s] The teachers of the age could not fail to discern and to reprobate some of the growing corruptions, and attempted to counteract them. But they bore with, and even encouraged, much that eventually proved mischievous— partly from a desire to facilitate the progress of the gospel and to deal tenderly with converts;[t] partly from a regard to the pious intention which lay under strange and injudicious manifestations, or from a want of that historical experience which would have enabled them to detect the lurking germs of evil.[u] On the other hand, there were persons who decidedly set themselves against the tendencies of the time; but unhappily with such a mixture of error in their own opinions, and sometimes with such indiscretion in their conduct, as excited a general odium, and served to strengthen the cause which they opposed. Two of these, Helvidius and Bonosus, have lately been mentioned;[x] the former was encountered by St. Jerome, the latter by St. Ambrose.

Aërius, a presbyter of Sebaste, in the Lesser Armenia, was of earlier date—about A.D. 360. He is described by Epiphanius as an Arian;[y] but his notoriety arose from his attacks on the discipline and observances of the church. In consequence, it is said, of having been disappointed in his aspirations to the bishoprick of Sebaste, he began to assert that bishops and presbyters were equal—an opinion which in those days was altogether

[s] Giesel. I. ii. 331. See above, p. 66.
[t] See Aug. Ep. xxix. 9.
[u] Giesel. I. ii. 332. See Beugnot, ii. 262-4.
[x] P. 63. For Helvidius, see Theiner, i. 195-8.
[y] lxxv. 1.

new, since almost all the sects had at their outset been careful to obtain episcopal ordination for their ministers, and even those which had departed from the usual form of polity had acknowledged the necessity of a graduated hierarchy. Yet although Aërius denied the Divine institution of episcopacy, he appears to have admitted its lawfulness.[z] He denied the utility of stated fasts, and of prayers and alms for the departed; his followers, in determined opposition to the church, chose Sunday for their occasional fasts, while they ate freely on the fourth and sixth days of the week, and spent the penitential part of the paschal season in feasting.[a] It would seem, indeed, that Aërius altogether objected to the celebration of Easter; although some writers have supposed that his objections were directed only against the practice of eating the paschal lamb, which had been retained until his time in some churches, and which he regarded as a remnant of Judaism.[b]

Among the western opponents of the prevailing system was Jovinian, a monk of Rome, who began to publish his opinions about A.D. 388.[c] Although he did not forsake his monastic profession,[d] one of his chief tenets

[z] See Epiph. lxxv. 3; Walch, iii. 331.

[a] Epiph. l. c.

[b] Walch (iii. 333), Schröckh (vi. 227-9), and Neander (iii. 286-7) consider that, except on this supposition, there would be no point in the words ascribed to the heresiarch—"You give heed again to Jewish fables; for it is not right τὸ πάσχα ἐπιτελεῖν, since Christ your passover is sacrificed" (Epiph. lxxv. 3). But the meaning seems to be merely that, since the great sacrifice was offered on the cross, there is no need of a yearly celebration. Aërius was not peculiar in regarding the custom of eating the lamb as Jewish (see Hefele, i. 287, 292, 298), and the line of argument which Epiphanius takes in defence of the *pascha* (c. 6) seems to prove that the object of Aërius' attack was nothing less than the observance of the season altogether.

[c] Schröckh, ix. 233.

[d] Aug. de Hæres. 72. St. Jerome styles him the "Epicurus of the Christians," charges him with having exchanged the monastic rigour for a life of luxury, and draws a ludicrous picture of his sleek, well-attired, and jovial appearance. He asks (somewhat unfairly): "If you think marriage equally good with celibacy, why do you not marry?" (Adv. Jovin. i. 1, 40.) Even St. Augustine, instead of giving Jovinian any credit on account of the celibacy which in others was held so

was a denial of the superiority usually ascribed to celibacy. He denied the perpetual virginity of the Redeemer's mother,[e] and maintained that, if single and married persons were equal in other respects, their conditions were also equal. He combated the exaggerated reverence which was attached to the act of martyrdom.[f] He denied the merit of fasting, and the distinctions of food.[g] He maintained, with a strange perversion of Scripture texts, that there was no other distinction between men than the grand division into righteous and wicked; that there was no difference of grades in either class, and that there would hereafter be no difference of degrees in rewards or in punishments.[h] Whosoever had been truly baptized had, according to Jovinian, nothing further to gain by progress in the Christian life; he had only to preserve that which was already secured to him.[i] But the baptism which Jovinian regarded as true was different from the sacrament of the church; indeed, he altogether set aside the idea of the visible church.[k] The true baptism, he said, was a baptism of the Spirit, conferring indefectible grace, so that they who had it could not be overcome by the devil. If any one, after receiving the baptismal sacrament, fell into sin, it was a proof that he had never received inward baptism; but such a person might, on repentance, yet be made partaker of the true spiritual baptism.[l] All sins were regarded by Jovinian as equal; nor did he admit any difference as to guilt between those which were committed before baptism and those which followed after it.

admirable, says that he remained single for the sake of avoiding the troubles of married life.—De Hæres. 72.

[e] Aug. ib.

[f] Hier. adv. Jov. i. 3.

[g] Ib.; Aug. l. c. It does not, however, appear that he denied the utility of fasting as a help to religion. Walch, iii. 652.

[h] Hieron. i. 3; ii. 18-20; Neand. iii. 386-9.

[i] Aug. l. c.

[k] Neand. iii. 389-90.

[l] Hieron. i. 3; Jul. Eclan. ap. Aug. Op. Imperf. i. 39: Walch. iii. 655-6.

With such doctrines there was naturally connected an insufficient idea as to the importance of individual sins.[m]

Jovinian's opinions were favoured by the popular feeling at Rome,[n] where he made numerous converts, and induced many persons of both sexes, who had before embraced the celibate life, to marry; but among the clergy he found no adherents.[o] After having been condemned and excommunicated in 390, by a synod under Siricius, he repaired to Milan, in the hope of finding favour with Theodosius; but Ambrose had been warned against him by Siricius, and the Roman sentence was repeated at Milan.[p] Jerome wrote against him with violent personality, and in so doing exaggerated the merits of celibacy to such a degree as to give Jovinian's cause an advantage, while his own friends were dismayed at his indiscretion. Pammachius (who had married a daughter of Paula, and on her death had renounced eminent wealth and station to become a monk)[q] endeavoured, although in vain, to suppress the treatise; and, in order to take off the effects of its extravagance, Augustine wrote in a more moderate strain a book 'Of the Good of Marriage.'[r] Nothing further is known of Jovinian. Jerome speaks of him as dead in 404; yet it has been conjectured that he was the same who, under the name of Jovian, was charged eight years later with disturbing the Roman church by holding religious meetings, and

[m] Aug. de Hæres. 72, Neand. iii. 385-6; vi. 410.

[n] Jerome is very sore on this account (see above, p. 21), and it may be well to quote a specimen of his style,—"Nunc restat ut Epicurum nostrum, subantem in hortulis suis inter adolescentulos et mulierculas, alloquamur. Favent tibi crassi, nitidi, dealbati. Adde, si vis, juxta Socraticam irrisionem, omnes sues, et canes, et, quia carnem amas, vultures quoque, aquilas, accipitres et bubones. Quoscumque formosos, quoscumque calamistratos, quos crine composito, quos rubentibus buccis videro, de tuo armento sunt, immo inter tuos sues grunniunt De nostro grege tristes, pallidi, sordidati, et quasi peregrini hujus sæculi, etc." ii. 36.

[o] Aug. l. c.; Theiner, i. 199.

[p] Siric. Ep. 7 (Patrol. xiii.); Ambr. Ep. 52.

[q] Hieron. Ep. 66; Paulinus, Ep. 13.

[r] Hieron. Epp. xlviii., xlix. 2; Aug. Retract. ii. 22.

was sentenced by an edict of Honorius to be severely beaten and afterwards banished.[s]

Another of Jerome's adversaries may be fitly noticed in this place, although he did not appear until somewhat later than the time embraced in the preceding chapters.

Vigilantius was the son of an innkeeper at Calagurris (Hourra, or Casères), on the French side of the Pyrenees.[t] After having been employed in early youth in his father's trade, he was taken into the household of Sulpicius Severus, the biographer of St. Martin, where he enjoyed the opportunity of applying himself to letters; and he was advanced to the order of presbyter. Through Sulpicius he became acquainted with Paulinus, a noble Aquitanian of Roman family, who, after having filled high secular offices—even, it is said, the consulship[u]—forsook the world, was forcibly ordained a presbyter at Barcelona,[x] and settled at Nola in Campania, in order that he might be near the tomb of St. Felix, a confessor of the time of Decius.[y] Paulinus may be regarded as an example of the manner in which the spirit of the age acted on a religious and enthusiastic mind. In the fervour of penitence for a life of which he probably exag-

[s] Cod. Theod. XVI. v. 3. See Tillem. x. 227-9; Walch, iii. 664; Schröckh, ix. 238; Neand. iii. 390. I can hardly think, with Theiner (i. 233), that we are justified in setting aside Jerome's statement of Jovinian's death on account of the brutal language in which it is expressed,—"Inter phasides aves et carnes suiles non tam emisit spiritum quam eructavit." Adv. Vigil. i.

[t] Bayle, art. *Vigilance*, n. A., Walch, iii. 675-7; Giesel. I. ii. 335-6; Gilly's 'Vigilantius,' 125, Lond. 1844. See also Baron. 406. 40, seqq.; Tillem. xii.; Mosh. i. 468-9; Schröckh, ix. 262, seqq. Neand. iii. 479-81; Theiner, i. 225; Millman iii, 335-6.

[u] So his friend Ausonius distinctly states in a poem (Ep. 20). But the name of Paulinus does not appear in the Fasti. It is therefore supposed that he took the place of some consul who did not complete his term of office. Acta SS., June 22, p. 176; Tillem. xiv. 720; Muratori, in Patrol. lxi. 22, 791-4; Clinton, ii. 467; Henke, in Herzog, xi. 232.

[x] Paulin. Ep. i. 11 (Patrol. lxi.).

[y] For Paulinus, see Acta SS., June 22, pp. 167, seqq.; Tillemont, xiv.; Hist. Litt. ii. 179, seqq.; Gilly, c. iv., Ampère, i. 271, seqq.; Ozanam, Civ. Chrét. au 5me Siècle, ii. 240, seqq. For Felix, Acta SS., Jan. 14.

gerated the sinfulness,[z] he persuaded his wife Terasia to renounce the married estate, sold all her property as well as his own, and lived monastically with a few companions in the practice of works of piety and charity.[a] His reverence for saints was carried to an extent beyond that which had as yet become usual. He devoted himself especially to St. Felix: he built a church over the tomb, and adorned it with paintings, among which were scenes from the Old Testament and a symbolical representation of the Trinity.[b] Every year, on the festival of the confessor, Paulinus produced a poem in celebration of his life or miracles; every year he repaired to Rome for the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul. The example and influence of a person so distinguished by rank and so devout in life, who was the correspondent of Jerome, Augustine, Rufinus, and others of the most eminent among his contemporaries, could not fail to advance greatly the superstitions to which he was addicted.[c]

Vigilantius, after having visited Paulinus at Nola, set out for the east, being furnished by him with a letter of introduction to Jerome, which procured for him an honourable reception from the recluse A.D. 396.

[z] In a poem discovered by Cardinal Mai, and quoted in Herzog, xi. 231, he says of himself:—

"Ergo, ego sum primis semper lascivus ab annis,
Cujus amor licitis miscuit illicita;
Audax, perjurus, simulator, dissimulator,
Ambitor, varius, invidus, impatiens.
Crudelis, rationis egens, furiosus, avarus,
Profusor proprii, pius aliena petens;
Et quicquid scelerum molitur, perficit, audet
Pollutum corpus, mens rea, lingua loquax."

[a] Ambros. Ep. i. 58; Life, by Muratori, c. 18. There are two curious letters on the subject of a cook who was sent to him by Sulpicius from Gaul, in consequence of the desertion of other cooks, who regarded the simple food of the Nolan community as unworthy of their art. (Sulp. Sev. Append. Ep. 3, Patrol. xx.; Paulin. Ep. 23, ib. lxi.) Paulinus replies in great delight as to the virtues and accomplishments of "brother Victor," who seasoned his meagre porridge with such salt of grace and such sweetness of charity that no want of material condiments was felt (6), and was also skilful as a barber (10). The only drawback was, that the master felt scruples at receiving the ministrations of so saintly a servitor (5).

[b] Ep. 32; Poëma 28. See Augusti, xi. 186.

[c] Paulinus was born in 353 or 354, retired to Nola in 394, became bishop

of Bethlehem.[d] But disagreements soon arose. Vigilantius accused Jerome of Origenism,[e] and although he retracted the charge before leaving Bethlehem, he again asserted it in his own country.[f]

Some time after his return to the west, Vigilantius began to vent peculiar opinions. He assailed the prevailing excess of reverence for departed saints; he maintained that their souls, which existed "in Abraham's bosom, or in the place of rest, or under God's altar," could not be present at their tombs; he denied the possibility of their intercession after death, and the miracles which were reported to be wrought at their graves. Miracles (he said) were beneficial to unbelievers only; by which he seems to have implied that, as the power of working them had been given for the conviction of the Jews and heathens, the time in which they might be expected was past.[g] He attacked the veneration of relics as idolatrous, and the lighting of candles at the tombs of saints in the daytime as a pagan superstition. He wished that all vigils except that of Easter should be abolished, and spoke of them as giving occasion to debauchery.[h] He denied the usefulness of fasting, continence, and monasticism, and regarded the profession of chastity as a source of corruption. He maintained that it was better to retain property, and to bestow of it by degrees for pious and charitable purposes, than at once to relinquish the

of that place in 409 (between 402 and 405, according to Clinton), and died in 421 or 424 (431, according to Pagi, vii. 411, and Clinton). Tillem. xiv. 732; Mansi, in Baron. vi. 430. See Le Brun, Dissert. in Paulinum (Patrol. lxi.); Ramsay, in Smith's Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Biography, art. *Paulinus*. A story of his having sold himself for the redemption of a captive, told by St. Gregory the Great (Dial. iii. 3), is rejected by Pagi, vii. 413-16, and by Tillemont, xiv. 136.

[d] Murat. Vita, 22.

[e] See the next chapter.

[f] Hieron. Ep. lxi.

[g] Id. c. Vigil. 10; Walch, iii. 697-8; Schröckh, ix. 267; Neand. iii. 481. The Oxford annotator on Fleury (ii. 125) says that Vigilantius did not deny the fact of the miracles wrought at the tombs of martyrs, but only complained of the objects to which they were directed. St. Jerome's words (l. c.) seem to me clearly to intimate the contrary.

[h] Hieron. c. Vigil. 7, 9.

whole; and that it was better to seek for objects of charity at home than to send money to Jerusalem.[1]

Jerome, whose old animosity against Vigilantius was revived by the publication of these doctrines, attacked him with the most furious abuse. A.D. 404-6. He reproached him with having been a tapster, and told him that he now applied to Holy Scripture the same tricks of falsification which he had formerly practised on the wine which he dispensed and on the money which he gave in change; that he opposed fasting, continence and sobriety, because they interfered with the profits of his early trade.[k] The argumentative part of the pamphlet cannot be described as very happy. Jerome partly denies the existence of the superstitions which Vigilantius had censured—or, at least, he denies that they existed as anything more than popular usages, unsanctioned by the church; and, by way of overwhelming his opponent, he asks how he can presume to question practices which had been approved by emperors and bishops.[l]

In justice to Vigilantius, it ought to be remembered that our only knowledge of his opinions comes from a very violent and unscrupulous adversary. They would seem to have been produced by a reaction from the system in which he had been for a time engaged—the system exemplified in his patron Sulpicius, in Paulinus, and more coarsely in Jerome. It is a circumstance greatly in his favour that, to the vexation of his opponents, his own bishop showed him countenance, and that he found other supporters in the episcopal order;[m] and although we may

[1] Hieron. c. Vigil. 13-14.

[k] Ib. 1, 13; Id. Epp. 61, 109.

[l] Id. c. Vigil. 5, 7, 9.

[m] Id. Ep. cix. 2; Bayle, note C.; Schröckh, ix. 268; Theiner, i. 227-30. The authors of 'Hist. de Languedoc' suppose that Vigilantius was then in the diocese of Toulouse; that the bishop, Exsuperius, was moved by Jerome's words to send certain questions to Innocent, of Rome, whose answer is extant (Patrol. xx. 455, seqq.); and that, as the answer was against Vigilantius, Exsuperius thereupon drove him from his diocese. (Hist. de Languedoc, i. 152, 638.) But it seems

hesitate to acquit him of error, there can be little doubt that it is an abuse of language to brand him with the title of heretic.

Nothing is known of the later history of Vigilantius. His doctrines—urged probably with a blamable vehemence and confidence—were so much opposed to the current of the time, that they did not require a council to condemn them; and they were soon obliterated by the Vandal invasion, to which it has been conjectured that their author himself may have fallen a victim.[n]

At the end of a period so full of controversy as the fourth century, I may advert to an objection which has often been brought against preceding writers, and to which I cannot but feel that my own work is liable, in common with theirs. It is said that Church-history, as it is usually written, is only a record of quarrels; and wishes are expressed for a history which should more fully display the fruits of the gospel for good. On some such principle Milner wrote; but if the required book were possible, it cannot be said that Milner has superseded the need of further labours in the same line. I believe, however, that the plausible objection in question is founded on a misconception. Church-history must follow the analogy of secular history. As the one deals in detail with wrongs and calamities, with wars, with intrigues, with factions, but must pass over with mere general words the blessings of prosperity, and must leave utterly unnoticed the happiness which is enjoyed not only under good governments, but even notwithstanding the very worst; so the other must dwell on the sad story

clear that any application on account of Vigilantius would have pointed more distinctly than the questions of Exsuperius at the opinions with which he is charged.

Baron. 406. 51-2; Gilly, 472-9. Dr. Gilly adopts the very improbable fancy of some earlier writers, that the opinions of Vigilantius were the seed of those which are found among the Waldenses, etc., at a later time.

of errors and contentions, and must allow the better side to remain untold. It is not the "peace on earth," but the "sword" that must be its theme. History takes cognizance of men only as they affect other men; of things only as they differ from the every-day course. In Church-history, even saints appear too commonly in their least favourable aspect. The occasions which bring them forward are often such as to draw forth their defects rather than their excellencies. Their better part, in so far as it can be written, belongs mainly not to history, but to biography; nay, even of noted and illustrious saints, the highest graces are not matter even for biography; they cannot be written on earth. And the great and immeasurable blessings of the gospel do not consist in the production here and there of a conspicuous hero of the faith, but in its effect on the vast unrecorded multitudes whom it has guided in life, whom it has comforted in trouble, whose death it has filled with the hope of immortality. Unrecorded as these things have been, we yet cannot doubt of their reality, but are assured that the same benefits which we witness in our own day and in our own sphere must in all times have flowed from the same enduring source. Instead, therefore, of requiring from a historian of the church that which is foreign to the nature of his task, we must read with the remembrance that the better portion of Christian history is to be supplied by our own thoughts—thoughts grounded on a belief in the Divine assurances, and confirmed by such opportunities as we may have enjoyed of witnessing their fulfilment.

## NOTE ON MIRACLES.

A writer of Church-history is perhaps bound to notice the question as to the alleged miracles of the ages which followed that of the apostles. In the preceding chapters, I have sometimes, with more or less of diffidence, given an opinion on individual miracles which have been mentioned; sometimes—and more especially where it seemed superfluous to express my disbelief—I have related them without any comment. But I feel myself so little qualified for discussing the general subject, that I have not ventured to introduce it into the text.

On the subject of miracles, there is an apparent inconsistency in the statement of writers belonging to the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth centuries. Origen, a hundred and fifty years earlier, while maintaining the continuance of miraculous powers in the church, had described the miracles of his own time as being less than those of the apostolic age, and seems to limit them to the cure of diseases;[o] and now St. Chrysostom speaks of it as a notorious and long-settled fact that miracles had ceased.[p] Yet at that very time St. Martin, St. Ambrose, and the monks of Egypt and the East are said to have been in full thaumaturgical activity; and Sozomen (viii. 5) tells a story of a change of the eucharistic bread into a stone as having happened at Constantinople while Chrysostom himself was bishop. So again, St. Augustine says that miracles such as those of Scripture were no longer done; yet he immediately goes on to reckon up a number of miracles which had lately taken place, (apparently without exciting much sensation), and among them no fewer than seventy formally attested cures, wrought in his own ci of Hippo within two years by the relics of St. Stephen.[q] The seeming inconsistency which we remark in writers of the times in question is therefore to be interpreted as meaning that they were conscious of a difference in character between the miracles of the New Testament and those which they supposed to be still performed in their own days.[r]

Among late writers on the ecclesiastical miracles may be named Dr. Newman, who has at different times maintained both sides of

[o] See C. Cels. i. 2; i. 46; ii. 9; iii. 28, etc.

[p] Newman, in Fleury, 39.

[q] De Civit. Dei, XXII. viii. 1, 20. See Newman in Encyc. Metrop., Church Hist. i. 393 (12mo. ed.; and in Fleury, 34-9; Milman, iii. 258-3; Rogers, ii. 210.

[r] Mozley, 208.

the question—the negative, in an essay contributed to the 'Encyclopædia Metropolitana' (1826), and the positive, in a dissertation prefixed to the Oxford translation of Fleury (1842); Mr. Isaac Taylor, in the 7th part of his book entitled 'Ancient Christianity' (1841); Mr. Henry Rogers, in an article which appeared in the 'Edinburgh Review' for October, 1844, and has since been reprinted in the second volume of his 'Essays'; and the late learned Bishop Kaye, who, in the third edition of his work on Tertullian, made some remarks on Dr. Newman's second essay. Archbishop Trench has also touched, although slightly, on the subject of this note, in his valuable work on the Gospel miracles; and more recently the subject of "false miracles" has been discussed in the eighth of Dr. Mozley's 'Bampton Lectures for 1865."[s]

Dr. Newman's later essay is affected by the peculiar position which the author held at the time when it was composed—as a member of the English church, but far advanced towards the Romanism which he professed three years afterwards. And perhaps he has nowhere more strongly displayed his extraordinary ingenuity—a quality which, when carried to excess, may even hinder the efficiency of a controversialist, by suggesting the suspicion that the writer who displays such fertility of resource on one side of a question, might possibly be able to argue still better on the other side.

With the exception of the section on Julian's attempt to rebuild the temple,[t] Dr. Newman's defence of particular miracles appears to me less plausible than his general argument. That argument is conducted on the principle of meeting the objections to ecclesiastical things by endeavouring to show that Scripture is liable to similar objections—a very dangerous system, which Dr. Newman himself has elsewhere described as a "kill or cure remedy,"[u] and which is here carried out by labouring to establish an undistinguishable confusion between Scripture and legend.[x]

On the whole, while I would not deny that miracles may have been wrought after the times of the apostles and their associates,[y] I

[s] I may also refer to Prof. Löbell's observations on the miracles of the *sixth* century (Gregor von Tours, 290-300; and to Mr. Twisleton's book, "The Tongue not essential to Speech," Lond. 1873.

[t] Since this was written I have found that Mr. Rogers (ii. 215) is inclined to make the same exception to his general disbelief of the ecclesiastical miracles.

[u] Tracts for the Times, No. lxxxv. p. 3.

[x] See Rogers, ii. 206.

[y] Prof. Blunt, in his Lectures on the Early Fathers (published since the first edition of this volume), confines his view to the second and third centuries, and thinks that miracles were then done, although he expresses himself with caution. (Ser. ii. Lec. 6). "Les

can find very little satisfaction in the particular instances which are given. Among the most obvious objections are the following :—

That the miracles of the third and fourth centuries are different in character from those of the first : and that the difference does not consist so much in a less display of the wonderful, as in a lowering of tone. (This lowering of tone Dr. Newman allows ; but he answers that, as in nature some animals are noble and beautiful, while others are ridiculous, hideous, or disgusting, so a like diversity may be expected in God's *extraordinary* works !)[z]

That, unlike the miracles of Scripture, they are said to be done prodigally, and that we cannot see any sufficient object for them, as we generally can, more or less clearly, for the Scriptural miracles.

That, in proportion as they are further from the apostolic age, they are not (as might have been expected of true miracles) the less common, but the more so.

That, whereas Scripture miracles were intended to lead to purification and enlightenment of belief, those of the fourth century are alleged in favour of manifest superstitions and corruptions, which were then growing on the church.[a]

That much must in reason be deducted from the stories, on the ground of credulity, exaggeration, incompetence of witnesses, and even of loose principles of veracity, which we know to have been sanctioned. under the name of "economy," by the fathers of the age.[b]

That similar stories are found among the heathens, the later Jews, and the enthusiasts of more recent times.[c]

The late accounts of magnetic phenomena appear to have also a

dons miraculeux," says M. de Pressensé, speaking of the same period, "n'ont pas disparu, mais ils diminuent, plus même que ne le reconnait l'Eglise, que ne sait pas toujours discerner le merveilleux créé par l'imagination du miraculeux réel. . . . Au reste, les grands apologistes du Christianisme ont conscience de cette infériorité." iii. 26-1.

[z] Essay in Fleury, 47, seqq. See Dr. Mozley's reply to this, pp. 213-14.

[a] Schröckh, vii. 300; viii. 296.

[b] See vol. i., p. 385 ; Hey's Lectures, I. xii. 15-16; Giesel. I. ñ. 307; Rogers, ii. 210; Mozley, 226, 380. Sulp. Severus says that St. Martin's miracles were more known and believed in distant countries than in his own. (Dial. i. 26.) Dr. Mozley remarks that "The current miracles of the patristic age are cures of diseases, visions, exorcisms ; the higher sort of miracle being alluded to only in isolated cases, and then with such vagueness that it leaves a doubt as to the fact itself intended." (211.) "Miraculous cures, vaticinations, visions, exorcisms, compose the current miracles of human history ; but these are just the class which is most susceptible of exaggerating colour and interpretation, and most apt to owe its supernatural character to the imagination of the reporters." 209.

[c] Newman, in Encyc. Metrop. 369.

bearing on the matter. Many of the ecclesiastical miracles find parallels in the modern stories of electro-biology, clairvoyance, and mesmeric cures. If these cases are truly reported, and are referred to the true causes, they suggest an agency by which the corresponding ecclesiastical miracles *may* have been effected (and it must be remembered that the consciousness of magnetic power is by no means regarded as necessary for the exercise of it). If the reporters are mistaken—and in many of them there can be no suspicion of wilful untruth—their stories have a bearing on the value of the testimony for the ecclesiastical miracles. When, for example, we find an experienced man of science publishing such narratives as those contained in the late Dr. William Gregory's 'Letters on Animal Magnetism,'—if the Edinburgh professor of our own time has been deceived, what amount of erroneous testimony might we not expect from the unscientific, zealous, and uncritical writers of the fourth and fifth centuries?

# BOOK III.

## FROM THE DEATH OF THE EMPEROR THEODOSIUS I. TO THE PONTIFICATE OF GREGORY THE GREAT. A.D. 395-590.

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## CHAPTER I.

### ARCADIUS AND HONORIUS.—ORIGENISTIC CONTROVERSY.—ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM.

I. THEODOSIUS left two sons,—Arcadius, aged eighteen, and Honorius, who was only eleven years of age; the elder succeeded to the sovereignty of the east, the younger to that of the west, and after this division the empire in its full extent was never again united.[a] The reigns of these imbecile princes were full of calamity. Themselves incapable of governing, each of them was subject to a succession of too powerful ministers and generals.[b] Of these, Stilicho alone, the general of Honorius, possessed the qualities which were requisite for the support of the empire. In 403 he defeated Alaric the Goth at Pollentia, in Liguria; but five years later, at the very time when his abilities were most urgently needed to meet a renewal of the Gothic in-

Honorius, A.D. 395-423.

Arcadius, A.D. 395-408.

[a] Gibbon, iii. 30.

[b] Eunapius, ed. Bonn, p. 86.

vasion, he fell a victim to the arts of a rival, Olympius.[c] Rome was thrice besieged by the Goths. The first siege was raised by the payment of a large ransom; the second resulted in Alaric's setting up as emperor a puppet, Attalus, whom he afterwards deposed in disgust at his incapacity; in the third, the city was taken and sacked.[d] Throughout this period we read of revolts in various provinces, of insurrections of the barbarians who had been admitted within the Roman territory, and of invasions by fresh hordes from the countries beyond. These invasions fell more especially on the western division of the empire. In 404, Honorius, finding himself exposed to the Goths at Milan, removed to Ravenna, which for the next three centuries continued, throughout all the changes of government, to be regarded as the capital of Italy.[e] A.D. 404-410.

In 408, Arcadius was succeeded by his son Theodosius II., a child seven years old. The young prince was at first under the guardianship of Anthemius, and from 414 under that of his sister Pulcheria, who for nearly forty years held the virtual sovereignty of the east.[f] Honorius reigned till 423.[g]

The weakness of the government, the irruptions of the barbarians, and the changes in the administration, prevented the adoption of any sustained and uniform policy for the suppression of paganism.[h] Both in the east and in the west laws were repeatedly issued for the abolition of sacrifices,[i] and for the confiscation of such allowances and endowments as had hitherto been left to the heathen priesthood; but the necessity of frequent re-enactment shows, no less than the occasional relaxations of these

[c] Gibbon, iii. 63, 91-2.
[d] Ib. 120-32; Gregorov. i. 124-34, 147, seqq.
[e] Gibbon, iii 72, Schröckh, vii. 24.
[f] Soz. ix. 1.
[g] Gibbon, iii. 204.
[h] Schröckh, vii. 227; Neand. iii. 111-12.
[i] Cod. Theod XVI. x 13, seqq.

laws, that they were very imperfectly executed. It is a significant circumstance that heavy penalties are often threatened against magistrates who should neglect to enforce them;[k] as if the government knew that there were many among its local officers from whom in such a cause it could not expect any willing service.[l] In 408, under the administration of Olympius, Honorius published a law by which all but the professors of orthodox Christianity were excluded from employment about the court.[m] But it is said that Generid, commander of the troops at Rome, one of the barbarian chiefs on whose arms the degenerate Romans then depended, indignantly cast away the ensigns of his command, refused any exemption which should not extend to other heathens, and terrified the emperor into a hasty repeal of the enactment.[n] In the east, however, similar laws were passed both by Arcadius and by the younger Theodosius.[o]

Towards the end of the fourth century a tale was current among the pagans, that St. Peter had by magical arts discovered that Christianity was to last for 365 years, and was then to perish.[p] The period was completed in 398,[q] and the hopes of the heathen party had risen high; but they were disappointed, and other disappointments followed. The barbarian leader Radagaisus, who, as being himself a heathen, had engaged their sympathies, was overthrown by Stilicho. When Alaric first laid siege to Rome, the pagan members

A.D. 406.

[k] *E.g.* ib. 19; Cod. Just. I. xi. 7 (A.D. 451).

[l] Beugnot, ii. 18, 52.

[m] Cod. Theod. XVI. v. 42.

[n] The story rests on the suspicious authority of Zosimus (v. 46), but is generally admitted.

[o] Cod. Theod. XVI. v. 29, 48; x. 21. Comp. laws of Justin. I. Cod. Just. I. iv. 20; v. 12.

[p] Aug. de Civ. Dei, xviii. 53-4. Gieseler refers this to a misunderstanding of Christian ideas as to the second advent, and the "acceptable *year* of the Lord." I. ii. 37.

[q] Tillem. Emp. v. 511; Neand. iii. 114; Beugnot, ii. 9. Pagi (vi. 263) and Schröckh (vii. 240) make the period 369 years, but by reckoning from an earlier date, bring the end to the same year.

of the senate ascribed the calamities of the empire to the neglect of the rites by which their fathers had obtained the favour of the gods, and had raised their country to its height of glory. It is said that some Tuscan soothsayers, who professed to have saved Narni from the invader by drawing down lightnings for his discomfiture, undertook to deliver Rome in the same manner through the use of incantations and sacrifices. Even the bishop, Innocent, is stated by a heathen writer to have consented to the experiment, provided that it were made in secrecy, "preferring the safety of the city to his own opinion." The Tuscans, however, insisted, as an essential condition, that the rites should be performed with all form and publicity, in the name of the state and with the attendance of the senate; and as the senators refused to give this kind of sanction to idolatry, the soothsayers were dismissed.[r] This tale has probably no other foundation than that the pagans wished to take advantage of the public danger in order to attempt a restoration of their religion. Attalus, although baptized into Arianism, courted them by re-establishing the ancient rites; but their joy was soon checked by his deposition.[s]

The barbarian irruptions were, in truth, greatly injurious to paganism. There was no instance of barbarians embracing the old religion of Greece or Rome; they either adhered to the superstitions of their own ancestors, or adopted some form of Christianity.[t] Alaric and his Goths, who were Arians, directed their wrath against heathen temples even more zealously than the Christians of the empire. It is from Alaric's invasion of Greece that the suppression of the Eleusinian

A.D. 396.

[r] This version of the story comes from Zosimus (v. 41). Sozomen (ix. 6) intimates that the rites were performed and failed. See Mosh. i. 419; Gibbon, iii. 122; Schröckh, vii. 242-3; Giesel. I. ii. 36; Beugnot, ii. 55-7; Milman, iii. 181; Latin Christ. i. 99.

[s] Beugnot, ii. 61-3.

[t] Ib. 143; Giesel. I. ii. 38.

mysteries is dated.[u] In the capture of Rome temples were attacked, while churches were reverenced and those who sought a refuge in them were spared; and some, at least, of the Gothic soldiers manifested in their behaviour towards the defenceless some influence of the religion which they professed.[x] The Christians saw the vengeance of God in the calamities which fell on Rome; they had a story that Alaric, while on his march, was entreated by a holy monk to spare the city, and answered that he did not go of his own will, but that One was continually urging him forward to take it.[y] The pagans, on their side, referred all the miseries of the time to Christianity—a theory which St. Augustine combated in many sermons, and in refutation of which he undertook his great work 'Of the City of God,' written between the years 412 and 426. With the same view Orosius, a Spaniard, at Augustine's desire, drew up about 417 a compendium of universal history, in which he argued that earlier ages had been as calamitous as his own, and had been the more wretched in so far as they were without the remedy of true religion.[z]

Paganism yet lingered long.[a] In the east, Theodosius, in a law of A.D. 423, affects to question whether it still had any adherents; but the doubt is refuted by clear evidence of facts.[b] The chief strength of the old religion, however, lay in the west. In some districts its spirit was still so powerful, that Christians who attempted to

[u] Gibbon, iii. 57.

[x] Orosius, vii. 39 (Patrol. xxxi.); Aug. de Civ. Dei, i. 2, 4; Soz. ix. 10; Gibbon, iii. 133-4; Milman, Lat. Christ. i. 97-8.

[y] Soc. vii. 16; Soz. ix. 6. Cf. Claudian. de Bello Getico, 545-9; Gregorov. i. 121-4.

[z] Oros. Hist. Præf. l. i. 1 (Patrol. xxxi.); Galland. ib. col. 659.

[a] See Ozanam, Civ. Chrét. au 5me Siècle, leçon 4.

[b] Cod. Theod. XVI. x. 22. In 425 he repeats the expression of doubt both as to paganism and as to Judaism. (Ib. XV. v. 5.) See Gibbon, iii. 22; Schröckh, vii. 233; Neand. iii. 117; Giesel. I. ii. 33. M. de Beugnot (ii. 105) supposes that only a fourth part of the inhabitants of Constantinople were Christians. But his calculation seems extremely loose.

execute the laws against temples and idols were killed by the exasperated heathens.[c] In many places where the religion of the gospel was professed, the old tutelary gods still held their position;[d] and besides the great infusion of a pagan spirit into the Christianity of the time, many purely heathen ideas and usages were yet retained among Christians.[e] The conformity of proselytes was often merely outward; for, as the adherents of the old religion were not generally disposed either to suffer for its sake, or to forego the advantages which were connected with a profession of the new faith, many of them submitted to be baptized, and afterwards, when occasion served, again declared themselves pagans. Hence arose the necessity of those frequent enactments against apostasy which would appear unaccountable if the apostates had ever been really Christians.[f]

Africa was a chief stronghold of paganism, and there the distractions of the Donatistic schism told in its favour.[g] St. Augustine advised a gentle mode of dealing with the worshippers of idols as most likely to be effectual. "First," he says, "we endeavour to break the idols in their hearts. When they themselves become Christians, they will either invite us to the good work of destroying their idols, or will anticipate us in it. Meanwhile we must pray for them, not be angry with them."[h] He complains that Christians took part in heathen ceremonies and rejoicings. A council held at Carthage, in 399, solicited the emperor to suppress certain banquets which were among the principal means of keeping up the old religion; and also to order the destruction of all

[c] Aug. Epp. 50, 91; Baron. 399. 72; 400. 4; 401. 53, etc.; Giesel. I. ii. 35; Beugnot, ii. 145.

[d] Ib. 148, seqq.

[e] Ib. 103; Giesel. I. ii. 40-1.

[f] Ib. 31-2; Beugnot, ii. 69, 98-100; Neand. iii. 117-18. There were *eight* laws against apostasy between 381 and 426. Cod. Theod. XVI. vii. Cf. Cod. Just. I. xi. 10.

[g] Beugnot, ii. 155-6. See the next chapter.

[h] Serm. lxii. 11 (t. v.). Comp. Beugnot, ii. 7.

remains of idolatry, together with the temples which were in rural places.[i] The government was not yet prepared for such measures; in the same year orders were issued that the public rejoicings should be celebrated, although without sacrifices or superstition, and that such of the temples as contained no unlawful things should be left uninjured.[k] But nine years later, in a law intended for the whole empire, the banquets were forbidden, and the bishops were authorized to suppress all monuments of idolatry.[l] Such of the temples as were not ornamental in their architecture were demolished. It was ordered that those in cities or suburbs should be applied to public uses; many were shut up, and remained vacant until the Christians took possession of them and converted them into churches.[m]

The old Roman aristocracy, which had clung to the religion of its forefathers more from pride than from conviction, was scattered by the taking of Rome. Many of its members emigrated to their possessions in Africa, Egypt, or elsewhere, and the pagan interest suffered in consequence.[n] But in the rural parts of Italy—notwithstanding the law of the year 408, already mentioned, by which landlords were ordered to destroy temples on their estates[o]—the ancient worship subsisted, until at a later time it was followed into its retreats and extirpated by the labour of the monks.[p]

The abolition of the gladiatorial shows at Rome, against which Christian teachers had long inveighed and pleaded in vain,[q] is referred to the reign of Honorius.

[i] Cod. Canon. Eccl. Afric. 58, 60 (Hard. i. 898)

[k] Cod. Theod. XVI. x. 17-18.

[l] Ib. 19 (A.D. 408)

[m] See ib. 13, 19; Schröckh, vii. 228-9; Beugnot, ii. 139-41; Milman, iii. 192.

[n] Tillem. Emp. v. 597: Gibbon, iii. 138; Beugnot, ii. 112; Milman, iii. 181

[o] Cod. Theod. XVI. x. 19. See Godefroy's notes.

[p] Neand. iii. 113; Milman, iii. 183

[q] Ozanam, i. 161. The Christian poet Prudentius urged Honorius to abolish

When the emperor, after the victory of Pollentia, was celebrating a triumph with games of this kind, Telemachus, an eastern monk, who had made a journey to Rome for the purpose of protesting against them, leaped into the arena, and attempted to separate the combatants, but was stoned to death by the spectators, who were enraged at this interference with their amusement. The emperor acknowledged that such a death deserved the honours of martyrdom, and, with the willing acquiescence of his people, whose fury had soon given way to repentance, he abolished the inhuman spectacles.[r]

II. The disputes as to the opinions of Origen, which had begun during his lifetime, continued after his death. The martyr Pamphilus, in conjunction with Eusebius of Cæsarea, wrote a defence of him.[s] In the great controversy of the fourth century, his name was frequently mentioned, and the tendency of his doctrines was much disputed; for, while the Arians wished to claim his authority, and some of their extreme opponents, such as Marcellus of Ancyra, styled him the father of Arianism, his orthodoxy was maintained by St. Athanasius and other champions of the catholic faith.[t] So long as Arianism and the doctrines connected with it engrossed all attention, the

them. Contra Symmach. ii. 1113, seqq. (Patrol. lxx.). See Lecky's 'Hist. of Morals,' i. 287, seqq.; and as to the restrictions imposed by earlier laws, ii. 37.

[r] Theodoret, v. 26. The story of Telemachus has been questioned. Gibbon expresses a "wish to believe" it (ii. 70). M. de Beugnot allows its truth, but says that the gladiatorial shows continued until the Roman manners were superseded by the Gothic (ii. 24-5). Dean Milman, in answer to some remarks of P. E. Müller (De Genio, etc., Ævi Theodosiani, pp. 85, seqq.), observes that "Müller has produced no evidence or allusion to gladiatorial shows after this period. The combats with wild beasts certainly lasted till the fall of the Western Empire; but the gladiatorial combats ceased, either by common consent or by imperial edict." N. on Gibbon, iii. 71. Cf. Gregorov. i. 116, 289.

[s] See vol. i. p. 212; Phot. Biblioth. Cod. 118; Origen. vol. IV. pt. ii. pp. 17, seqq.; note on Jerome, Patrol. xxiii. 403; Walch, vii. 412-24.

[t] Walch, viii. 429; Neand. iv. 447-8. See vol. i. p. 152. As to Marcellus, see Euseb. c. Marcell., Patrol. Gr. xxiv. 760-2.

opinions of Origen on other subjects did not come into question. His writings exercised an important influence among the teachers of the eastern church; but, although these were in general content to draw instruction from him, without regarding him as faultless, there were two extreme parties, by one of which he was rejected as a heretic, while the other was unreservedly devoted to him.[u] Thus, while the monks of Nitria found in his works provision for their mystic and spiritualizing turn of mind,[x] Pachomius warned his disciples against Origen as the most dangerous of seducers, whose doctrines would conduct the reader to perdition.[y]

In the west Origen was known only by name, but the general impression was unfriendly to him.[z] Jerome attempted to introduce him more favourably by translating some parts of his writings and embodying them in commentaries on the Scriptures. In a letter written during his residence at Rome, he speaks with enthusiastic praise of the "indefatigable "[a] Alexandrian, and says that he had been condemned at Rome, "not for the novelty of his doctrines, not for heresy, as mad dogs now pretend against him, but because his enemies were unable to endure the glory of his eloquence and learning."[b] After his final retirement to Bethlehem, Jerome renewed an acquaintance of earlier days with Rufinus, a native of the diocese of Aquileia. Rufinus had lived eight years in Egypt,[c] where he visited the monks, studied under the blind Didymus, and suffered in the persecution of Valens.[d] He had now settled on the Mount of Olives in

[u] Schröckh, x. 102.

[x] Hieron. c. Rufin. iii. 22.

[y] Vita Pachom. 27 (Patrol. lxxiii.).

[z] Aug. Ep. xl. 9; Tillem. xii. 110; Schröckh, xii. 42; Neand. iv. 447-8, 457.

[a] "Adamantius."

[b] Ep. xxxiii. Other passages of Jerome in celebration of Origen are collected by Rufinus, Apol. ii. 13-18, 22.

[c] Apol. ii. 12.

[d] He speaks of his sufferings, Hist. Eccl. ii. 4; Apol. ad Anast. 2. Jerome, of course, mocks at the idea of his having been a confessor. (Adv. Ruf. ii. 3; iii. 26.) See the Life of Rufinus by Fontanini, Patrol. xxi. 80.

company with Melania, a noble and pious Roman widow, and had been ordained presbyter by John, bishop of Jerusalem.[e] Jerome became very intimate with him, and celebrated his virtues in terms which are even extravagant;[f] and the friends agreed in admiration of Origen.[g]

In the year 393, a pilgrim from the west, named Aterbius, arrived at Jerusalem, where, as he had been accustomed to hear the name of Origen connected with disrepute, he was astonished at finding that it was held in high honour. In a frantic manner, according to Jerome, he charged Rufinus with Origenism, and, knowing the intimacy which existed between the two, he included Jerome in the accusation.[h] Jerome, keenly sensitive to his reputation for orthodoxy, disavowed the imputation with great eagerness, saying that he had read Origen only in the same way as he had read the works of heretics;[i] while Rufinus refused to have any communication with his accuser, and confined himself to his own house until Aterbius had left Jerusalem.[k]

Soon after this affair, Jerusalem was visited by Epiphanius, bishop of Constantia (formerly Salamis), in Cyprus, and metropolitan of that island. Epiphanius had been educated as a monk, and was then more than eighty years of age.[l] He was a man of vast reading, which extended to the Greek, Syriac, Hebrew, Egyptian and Latin languages, and he enjoyed an extra- A.D. 394.

[e] See Palladius, Hist. Laus. 110-19, where it is said that no man was to be found of greater learning or meekness than Rufinus. The lamentations of Baronius (393. 25-6), that a lady of Melania's eminent sanctity, who had buried her husband and two sons "siccis penitus oculis" (see Hieron. Ep. xxxix. 4), should fall under the influence of an Origenist, are curious.

[f] See Ep. iv. 2 (which however, is of earlier date).

[g] Tillem. xii. 161-2; Schröckh, xii. 109-10.

[h] Hier. c. Ruf. iii. 33.

[i] This is in his letter to Vigilantius, who brought a similar charge against him in 394 or 395. Ep. lxi. See above, p. 72.

[k] Hier. c. Ruf. iii. 33; Tillem. xii. 161-2; Schröckh, x. 135-6.

[l] His birth is placed about 320 by Tillemont (x. 487); between 310 and 320 by Schröckh (x. 4); but Dupin dates it as late as 332 (iii. 295).

ordinary popular fame for sanctity, so that miracles and prophecies were ascribed to him;[m] but both his conduct and his remaining works prove him to have been injudicious, weak, vain, narrow-minded, and obstinate.[n] In his work on Heresies, he had spoken very strongly against Origen,[o] whom his character and his education alike unfitted him to appreciate; and he was connected by friendship with Jerome, who had spent some time with him in Cyprus while on his way from Rome to the east.[p]

Epiphanius, on his arrival at Jerusalem, accepted the hospitality of the bishop, John, and behaved with courtesy to Rufinus. The Origenistic question had not been mentioned between him and his host, when Epiphanius, in preaching at the church of the Resurrection, broke out into a violent invective against Origenists, which was evidently intended to reflect on the bishop. Jerome reproaches John with having indecently expressed his impatience by looks and gestures, and states that he sent his archdeacon to beg that the preacher would not pursue the subject. As the two bishops proceeded to

[m] Hier. c. Ruf. ii. 22; Schröckh, x. 8-12.

[n] It is but justice to mention a story which (if true) shows that Epiphanius was not a slave to the monastic peculiarities. Hilarion, a short time before his death, was on a visit to the bishop. Some fowls were served up at table, and Epiphanius asked his guest to partake of them. Hilarion excused himself, saying that, since he put on the habit of a monk, he had never eaten of any animal. "And I," said Epiphanius, "since I put on the same habit, have never allowed that any one should lie down to sleep with a grievance against me on his mind, even as I have never gone to rest at variance with any one." "Father," replied the abbot, "your rule is more excellent than mine." (Vitæ Patrum, ed. Rosweyd, v. 15, Patrol. lxviii.) Cassian tells a similar story of two monks (De Cœn. Inst. v. 27). A monk of later date, Gunther, on being urged by St. Stephen, king of Hungary to eat of a roast peacock, prayed with tears that he might be delivered from the temptation to break his vow; whereupon the bird came to life and flew away. (Vita, c. 5, in Acta Sanctorum, Octob. 9.) Stiltinck finds no difficulty in the restoration of the peacock to life, but doubts the story on account of the part which is ascribed to the saintly king. Ib. Sept. 2, p. 529.

[o] Hær. 64.

[p] Hier. c. Ruf. iii. 22.

the church of the Cross, where another service was to be held, it was difficult to make way through the multitudes who crowded round Epiphanius, kissing his feet, touching the hem of his garment, and holding out children to receive his blessing. These displays of reverence, it is said, excited the envy of John, and at the service which followed he preached against anthropomorphism,[q] apparently with an intention of charging Epiphanius with that error, which was not uncommon among the extreme opponents of Origen. The old man, when it came to his turn to speak, declared that he approved all which had been said by John; that he condemned anthropomorphism; and in return he required that John should anathematize Origenism.[r] The dispute thus commenced became more and more vehement. Epiphanius, in high displeasure on account of a sermon which John had preached, left Jerusalem and repaired to Bethlehem. He afterwards wrote to Jerome's monks, charging them to break off communion with their bishop; and in the diocese of Eleutheropolis he forcibly ordained Paulinian, brother of Jerome, to the offices of deacon and presbyter, for the purpose of ministering to the monks of Bethlehem.[s] John strongly protested against this invasion of his episcopal rights, and a fierce controversy followed, which involved questions of doctrine, discipline, and personal conduct. The errors attributed to Origen were classed under eight heads. He was charged with heretical views on the relations of the Divine Persons; with strange and unsound opinions as to the pre-existence of souls, the salvation of the devil and evil spirits, the resurrection of the dead, the condition of man before and

[q] *I.e.* ascribing to the deity a human form.

[r] Hier. c. Joh. Hierosol. 11.

[s] Id. Epp. 51, 82 (the former is a translation of a letter from Epiphanius to John); Tillem. xii. 165, 169, 170. Paulinian's mouth was stopped at each ordination, lest he should adjure the bishop in the name of Christ to desist. See vol. i. p. 442.

after the fall; and with singular allegorical misinterpretations of Scripture, extending even to the denial of its literal truth.[t] Jerome attacked Rufinus and John with all his acrimony. He complained that the bishop did not fairly meet him; that he attempted to answer only three out of the eight charges, and that, instead of discussing the question of doctrine, he dwelt continually on the irregularity of Paulinian's ordination.[u] It was in vain that Archelaus, count of Palestine, and Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, attempted to interpose as mediators; but at length, as Rufinus was about to leave the Holy Land in 397, he and Jerome went through a solemn form of reconciliation at the altar of the church of the Resurrection.[x]

The quarrel, however, was soon revived. Rufinus took up his abode at Rome, where a friend, who was engaged on a work against astrology, inquired of him what were Origen's opinions on that subject—being himself unacquainted with Greek.[y] On this Rufinus translated the Apology of Pamphilus, and Origen's own treatise *De Principiis*, the most questionable and suspected of all his writings.[z] The translation (by which alone the greater part of the book is now known) was made on an extraordinary principle. As Origen had himself complained that his works were falsified, Rufinus assumed that the suspicious passages were the interpolations of heretics, and altered them so that they might accord with his own views of orthodoxy, and with other passages of the author's writings. In answer to the presumption of falsification, Jerome well remarked that Pamphilus and Eusebius had not used any such plea

Aug. 398.

[t] Epiph. ap. Hieron. Ep. li. 4-5; Hier. c. Joh. Hieros. 7.

[u] Ep. 82.

[x] Hieron. c. Ruf. iii. 33; Vita Hieron. cc. 28-9; Vita Ruf. i. 3-4; Tillem xii. 172-200; Schröckh, x. 142, 150-7.

[y] Rufin. Apol. i. 11.

[z] See Photius, Biblioth. Cod. 8

in their defence of Origen;[a] nor was it justifiable by such means to reduce Origen to consistency with himself, inasmuch as he not only may have varied in opinion during his long life, but is known to have held that the difference in character between exoteric and esoteric teaching would warrant a difference of statement. After having avowedly subjected the text to his violent editorial process, Rufinus somewhat inconsistently adjured readers and copyists, in the name of God and by the thought of the resurrection and of eternal fire, to make no omission, addition, or change of any kind in the reformed *De Principiis*.[b]

Jerome, whose old fondness for Origen had been invidiously mentioned by Rufinus in his preface, was urged by his friends Pammachius and Oceanus to exhibit the Alexandrian in his true character by means of a more faithful translation; and he complied with their desire.[c] In a letter to those who had suggested the task, he earnestly disclaimed the suspicion of Origenism. "I praised him" (he says) "as an interpreter, not as a dogmatic teacher; for his genius, not for his faith; as a philosopher, not as an apostle. . . . . If you believe me, I never was an Origenist; if you do not believe me, I have now ceased to be one."[d] The question now was, not whether certain opinions were sound, but whether Origen had held them, and whether his admirers continued to hold them, notwithstanding all protestations to the

[a] Hier. Ep. lxxxiv. 10-11. Perhaps, however, Jerome may have gone too far in denying any interpolation. Schröckh, x. 163-4.

[b] Præfat. ap. Hier. Ep. 80; Origen, i. 45. Rufinus defends his principles of translation, Apol. ii. 46-7.

[c] Epp. 83-5, 129; Adv. Ruf. i. 6. Rufinus lays hold of the inconsistency of this with Jerome's words to Vigilantius at an earlier time—"that by his means the Latins possessed the good of Origen, and knew nothing of his evil." (Hier. Ep. lxi. 2; Ruf. Apol. i. 21.) Jerome replies sharply, by asking whether Rufinus considered himself one of the LXX., so that no man might translate after him. Adv. Ruf. iii. 36.

[d] Ep. lxxxiv. 2-3. Cf. Ruf. Apol. ii. 10.

contrary.[e] Finding that, although his explanations were satisfactory to Pope Siricius and to other Italian bishops, his position at Rome was rendered intolerable through the influence of Jerome, Rufinus retired to Aquileia, bearing with him a letter of recommendation from Siricius, who died shortly after (Nov. 26, 398).[f] The next bishop of Rome, Anastasius, was solicited to take up the subject by Theophilus of Alexandria, who had now declared himself against Origenism; while at home he was stimulated by the importunities of Marcella and others (chiefly pious and noble ladies), who were under the direction of Jerome.[g] In consequence of these applications, Anastasius summoned Rufinus to Rome; and, on his alleging that family reasons detained him at Aquileia,[h] the bishop, without pronouncing against Rufinus himself, condemned Origen and the translations from his works—declaring that, until these appeared, he had neither known who Origen was nor what he had written. The letter which contains this judgment also mentions an imperial order (of which nothing is otherwise known) against reading the Alexandrian's writings.[i] Jerome and Rufinus carried on a war of angry apologies and counter-apologies, in which their old familiarity was remembered only as affording the means of reproaching each other with the sayings and the actions of former days. Augustine was so distressed by witnessing such a dispute between men of advanced age and of great reputation for learning and piety—ancient friends, too, and fellow-students of Scripture,—that, in writing to Jerome himself, and on the supposition that *his* representations

[e] Schröckh, x. 193.

[f] Hieron. Ep. cxxvii. 9-10; Baron. 397. 28-33; Pagi, vi. 239. Baronius is troubled by the pope's favour for the Origenist.

[g] Hieron. Epp. lxxviii.; cxxvii. 10.

[h] Ruf. Apol. ad Anast. 1.

[i] Anast. Ep. 1 ad Joh. Hieros. (Patrol xx.). It has been said that Anastasius excommunicated Rufinus; but this letter is inconsistent with the idea. See Fontanini's Life, ii. 19 (Patrol. xxi.).

were correct, he could only express his sorrow at the unseemly spectacle.[k] Jerome in one of his tracts assumes a tone of seeming moderation and gentleness. He entreats Rufinus to let the matter drop; A.D. 401. if (he says) they had erred in youth, they ought to be wiser in age, and to rejoice in each other's improvement; but, with an inconsistency not unusual in controversialists who advise moderation, he insists that the difference shall be ended on his own terms—by his opponent's joining in abjuration of Origen.[l]

Rufinus appears to have been at length weary of the contest, and ceased to write. He was driven from Aquileia by the troubles of Italy, and once more set out with Melania for the Holy Land, but died by the way in Sicily—having seen along the A.D. 410. opposite coast the fires of the devastation by Alaric's army.[m] Jerome at a later time spoke of him by the name of *Grunnius* (the grunter);[n] and in his preface to Ezekiel he refers to his opponent's death in terms which indicate an undiminished rancour: "The scorpion is buried under the soil of Sicily, with Enceladus and Porphyrion; the many-headed hydra has ceased to hiss against us."[o]

III. In another quarter the Origenistic controversy involved the fate of one of the most eminent men who adorned the ancient church.

John, who for his eloquence has received the name of Chrysostom (or Golden-mouthed),[p] was born at Antioch about the year 347. While very young he lost his father,

[k] Aug. Ep. lxxiii. 6-8.

[l] Adv. Ruf. iii. 9.

[m] Pagi, vi. 596; Fontanini in Patrol. xxi. 291.

[n] Comment. in Jerem. Prolog. (Patrol. xxiv. 681); in c. xxii. 24 (ib. 817). This name is said to have been derived from that of a character in a popular farce. See Thierry, ii. 42, who takes up Jerome's cause very strongly.

[o] Patrol. xxv. 16-17.

[p] Apparently not until after his death. (Tillem. xi. 37; Giesel. I. ii. 86.) But it is convenient to follow the usual practice of giving him the name by anticipation.

a military officer of rank, and was left to the care of a pious and truly admirable mother, Anthusa.[q] He became a pupil of the famous rhetorician Libanius, but was preserved by an unintermitted study of the Scriptures from the dangers to which the faith of Christian youths were exposed in the pagan schools; and so strongly was his master impressed by his talents, that on being asked, many years after, to name a successor for himself in his chair, he answered that John would have been the worthiest, if the Christians had not stolen him. At the age of twenty Chrysostom began to practise at the bar; but his conscience took offence at the arts which were common among the advocates of Antioch, and he resolved to devote himself to a religious life.[r] He now received baptism from the bishop, Meletius; and, as Anthusa's earnest and pathetic entreaties restrained him from fulfilling his wish to rush at once into monastic retirement,[s] he was ordained a reader, and continued to reside with her, in the practice of a strict asceticism, until her death, after which he withdrew to the mountains near Antioch.[t] Here he spent four years in a monastery, and had lived for two years as a hermit in a cave, when sickness, brought on by his austerities, compelled him to return to the city.[u] He was ordained deacon in 381, and while a member of that order he wrote his dialogue "On the Priesthood," which, notwithstanding all the difference of circumstances, still retains a high value and popularity as a manual of pastoral duty. In 386 Flavian ordained him presbyter, and appointed him chief preacher at Antioch. In this office, his eloquence excited immense admiration.[x]

A.D. 367-370.

[q] Palladius, Dial. de Vita S. Joh. Chrys., ap Chrys. t. xiii. 16.

[r] Soc. vi. 3; Soz. viii. 2.

[s] See Chrys. de Sacerdotio, 1; Villemain, 'Eloquence Chrétienne,' 156-7.

[t] Soc. vi 3; Soz. viii. 2; Neander's 'Chrysostomus' (Berlin, 1848), i. 25.

[u] Pallad. 17; Soc. vi. 3.

[x] Tillemont (xi. 31) understands Chrysostom to say that he sometimes

Sometimes his sermons were carefully prepared; at other times they were altogether extemporal; sometimes he combined the two methods,—departing from his intended plan so as to take advantage, with singular readiness and felicity, of any topic which the moment might suggest. His diction is clear and flowing, his illustrations are copious, varied, and apposite; he is distinguished by good sense, and by a knowledge of the heart, learnt rather from his own inward experience than through intercourse with others.[y] In his expository discourses, which extend over the greater part of the New Testament, with some books of the Old, he adheres to the literal sense of Scripture, and never loses sight of a practical application. Among the most celebrated of his other homilies are those 'On the Statues,' delivered on occasion of the sedition in which the statues of Theodosius and his family were thrown down at Antioch.[z] A.D. 387. While the inhabitants were in trembling expectation of some fearful punishment, and while the aged Flavian was absent on a mission of intercession to the emperor, Chrysostom daily preached to anxious multitudes in a tone of solemn and awakening eloquence. The pulpit triumphed over the theatres and the circus, to which the people of Antioch were usually devoted; and the preacher endeavoured to make the terror and excitement of the time become the foundation of a lasting reform.[a]

When Chrysostom had been nearly twelve years preacher at Antioch, the see of Constantinople fell vacant by the death of Nectarius, in September 397.[b] The

had 100,000 hearers at once (Hom. 85 in Matt. t. ii. 503, ed. Field). But, as Schröckh (x. 318) points out, the meaning is that such was the number of Christians in Antioch who at one time or other heard him.

[y] Neand. Chrys. i. 27, 35, 49.

[z] See vol. i. p. 388.

[a] Chrys. ad Pop. Antioch. (t. ii), Baron. 388.4, seqq.; Villemain, 'Eloq. Chrét' 164.

[b] Tillem. xi. 108.

possession of so eminent a dignity excited much ambition; candidates resorted to discreditable intrigues and solicitations, and party spirit ran high. At length the emperor Arcadius was requested to put an end to the confusion by nominating a bishop; and his choice was directed to Chrysostom through the influence of the eunuch Eutropius, who, on a late journey in Syria, had listened with admiration to the great orator's eloquence. Perhaps the minister may have reckoned on benefiting his own reputation by so laudable an exercise of his patronage; perhaps, too, he may have hoped to secure the bishop's subservience by establishing a hold on his gratitude. As there was reason to apprehend that the people of Antioch might break out into tumult if their preacher were openly taken away from them, Chrysostom was decoyed by the count of the East to a place without the city, and thence was privately sent off to Constantinople.[c]

In order that his appointment might have all the advantage of solemnity, a council was summoned on the occasion. Theophilus of Alexandria, on being required to take the chief part in the consecration of the new bishop, hesitated, from jealousy of the precedence lately assigned to Constantinople over his own see, and from a wish that the vacancy should be filled with one of the Alexandrian clergy; for it is said that his skill in physiognomy had warned him at the first interview that he must not expect to find a tool in Chrysostom.[d] Eutropius, however, frightened the Egyptian primate into compliance, by producing a schedule of charges against him, and threatening to bring him to trial for his misdemeanours; and Chrysostom was consecrated on the 26th of February 398.[e]

A.D. 398.

The eloquence which had won for him the admiration

[c] Pallad. 17, Soz. viii. 2; Tillem. vi. 110.

[d] Pallad. 18.

[e] Soc. vi. 3; Soz. viii. 2.

of Antioch was no less effective at Constantinople. The multitudes of the capital flocked to hear him, and were zealous for his cause in his after trials; and among the well-disposed of the higher classes (especially among pious ladies), his influence soon became very powerful.[f] Much of his attention was engaged by the Arian heresy, which, notwithstanding the severity of the penal laws, continued to lurk among the Greeks, while it was the professed creed of the Gothic barbarians, who were now numerous and formidable at Constantinople. With a view of converting these to orthodoxy, he ordained clergy of their own race, gave up one of the churches for a service in their native language, and himself often preached there, his words being rendered into Gothic by an interpreter.[g] When Gainas the Goth, who was at the time predominant at Constantinople, demanded a church for the exercise of Arian worship, Chrysostom alone dared to meet him with a firm denial at a conference in the emperor's presence, and obliged Arcadius to refuse; and by conduct so strikingly contrasting with that of the pusillanimous court he won the respect of the barbarian himself.[h] While thus zealous for the suppression of error within his own sphere, the archbishop also laboured for the propagation of the gospel by sending missions to the unconverted Goths and Scythians;[i] and by obtaining an imperial warrant for the destruction of the temples in Phœnicia, which was executed at the expense of his female friends, he contributed to the extirpation of the ancient idolatry.[k]

[f] Soz. viii. 5; Tillem. xi. 112-13.

[g] Theod. v. 30; Neand. Chrys. ii. 512.

[h] Soc. vi. 5, 8; Soz. viii. 4-8; Theod. v. 32.

[i] Ib. 30. Massmann gives a curious account of a community which existed in the Crimea down to the eighteenth century, and which he derives from those Goths to whom Chrysostom's missionaries were sent. Ulfilas, Einleit. 25-8.

[k] Cod. Theod. XVI. x. 16; Phot. Bibl. Cod. 96, p. 256; Theod. v. 29: Neand. Chrys. ii. 68.

A.D. 388. His influence was beneficially exerted to heal the schism of his native city. On the death of Paulinus, who had been acknowledged as bishop of Antioch by Egypt and the west, his party consecrated Evagrius; but this bishop did not long survive, and they were again left without a head. Through the intervention of Chrysostom, in the first year of his episcopate, both Innocent of Rome and Theophilus were persuaded to acknowledge Flavian, who thereupon inserted the names of both Paulinus and Evagrius in the diptychs of his church. Thus the later separation—that which Lucifer had occasioned by consecrating Paulinus [l]—was brought to an end, although some remains of the old Eustathian party continued to exist without any bishop. The schism was eventually terminated by the conciliatory measures of Alexander, bishop of Antioch, in 415.[m]

But as Chrysostom's new position was more conspicuous than that which he had formerly held, it also exposed him to dangers from which he had until now been exempt. Although he possessed in very large measure such a knowledge of the heart as fitted him to be a wise practical teacher of religion, he was wanting in that acquaintance with the world, and in that understanding of individual character, which are necessary for the administration of important office, and are nowhere more necessary than in high ecclesiastical office.[n] His temper was naturally warm, and the opposition which he met with in his endeavours at reform provoked him to expressions of anger, which both raised up enemies and supplied them with weapons against him.[o]

[l] Vol. i. p. 351.

[m] Innoc. Epp. 19-23 (Patrol. xx.); Soc. vi. 13; Soz. viii. 3; Theod. v. 23; Walch. v. 478, 483. Tillemont (x. 540, 650) supposes that some Eustathians remained till 482, when the relics of Eustathius were removed to Antioch. Against this, see Walch, iv. 486-8.

[n] Schröckh, x. 452; Gibbon, iii. 187.

[o] That his irritability is exaggerated by Socrates (vi. 3), see Neander, Chrys. ii. 15-16.

Reform was indeed very necessary. Nectarius, having grown old in the habits of secular rank, did not greatly alter them after his sudden promotion to the episcopate; and under him the clergy of Constantinople in general fell into a style of easy living, while some of them were even scandalous in their conduct.[p] Chrysostom sold the rich carpets and handsome furniture which had belonged to his predecessor; he even sold some of the marbles and other ornaments of the churches, in order to obtain funds for the establishment of hospitals and for other charitable purposes; he expended the whole of his own income on such objects, and was indebted for maintenance to a pious widow, Olympias. Partly from a distaste for general society, and partly from feeble health, he always took his meals alone—neither giving nor accepting hospitality; and to those who wished to engage him in idle conversation, he plainly intimated that it was tedious to him. The contrast between such a way of life and that of the former bishop was naturally noted to his disadvantage, and became the ground for charges of pride, moroseness, and parsimony.[q] The bishops who visited Constantinople no longer found the episcopal palace open to them; for Chrysostom thought this unnecessary, since there were so many of the faithful among whom he supposed that they might be sure to find a welcome.[r] Acacius of Berrhœa,[s] in Syria, was so provoked by the insufficiency of the accommodations which had been provided for him on a visit to the capital, that he is said to have exclaimed, "I will season his pot for him!"[t]

[p] Neander, Chrys. ii. 6-7.

[q] Pallad. 19, 40, 66, 72; Soc. vi. 4; Soz. viii. 9.

[r] Pallad. 42; Tillem. xi. 123.

[s] Now Aleppo.

[t] Pallad. 20. For Acacius, see Tillemont, xiv. 219, seqq. Although his character seems very equivocal, he possessed great reputation and influence. He had been instrumental in procuring the acknowledgment of Flavian by the western bishops, and will be mentioned hereafter in connection with the Nestorian controversy. He must have been already about eighty years old, as he is said to have

Chrysostom attempted to introduce an improvement among his clergy by enforcing simplicity of life and rousing them to activity in their calling.[u] He deposed some of them on charges of murder and adultery, and interfered with the practice of entertaining "spiritual sisters."[x] The institution of services at night, for the benefit of persons unable to attend those of the day, gave deep offence to some clergymen, whose ease was infringed on by the imposition of additional duties.[y] It would appear that, in the manner of his dealings with his clerical brethren, the bishop was too much influenced by his archdeacon Serapion, a proud, violent, and unpopular man, who is reported to have told him that the only way of managing them was "to drive them all with one stick."[z] Among the monks, too, there were many who regarded the archbishop with an unkindly feeling; for he made it no secret that in proportion to his love for the monastic life was his indignation against the strolling and greedy pretenders who disgraced it; and he excited much wrath, both among the monks and among the clergy, by advising Olympias not to bestow her bounty indiscriminately.[a]

While his popularity as a preacher excited envy, his eloquence sometimes hurried him into the use of expressions which were liable to misconstruction. Thus he was reported to have said in a sermon, "If thou sin and repent a thousand times, come hither." There can be no doubt that the intended meaning of the words was innocent (if indeed they were used at all); but Sisinnius, the Novatianist bishop—who with the severe notions of his sect as to penance somewhat incongruously combined

been a hundred and ten at the time of the general council of Ephesus (A.D. 431) and is supposed to have reached the age of a hundred and sixteen when he died, in 436.

[u] Pallad. 19.
[x] Ib. 18; Soc. vi. 4.
[y] Ib. 19.
[z] Soc. vi. 4; Soz. viii. 9.
[a] Ib.; Neand. Chrys. ii. 15, 20-2

the reputation of a wit and a handsome style of dress and living—took occasion from them to write a book against him.[b]

Chrysostom also drew enmity on himself by the unsparing manner in which he attacked the prevailing vices—extending his rebukes even to the court. The rapacity which the empress Eudoxia exercised in order to support her eunuchs provoked him not only to remonstances in private, but to public censures.[c]

Eutropius was disappointed in his hope of a subservient bishop, and had frequent disputes with Chrysostom. The victims of the favourite's extortions often took refuge in churches, and he produced from the feeble emperor a law abolishing the privilege of sanctuary. But soon after, Eutropius himself was suddenly overthrown; whereupon he fled in terrow to the cathedral, and laid hold on the altar for protec tion Chrysostom withstood the soldiers who were sent to seize the fallen minister; and on the following day, when the church was crowded by a multitude of people, such as was usually assembled only at Easter,[d] he discoursed on the instability of human greatness. While Eutropius lay crouching under the holy table, the archbishop reminded him of his former opposition to the very privilege from which he was then seeking his safety, and entreated the congregation to intercede for him both with the emperor and with God. This address—evidently intended to disarm the anger of the hearers by exhibiting the abject condition of Eutropius[e]—was misrepresented as an exultation over his calamity; and at the same time offence was taken on account of the protection which Chrysostom had offered to the eunuch. The archbishop was even

A.D. 399.

[b] Socrates, vi. 4 (who is a vehement admirer of Sisinnius, and gives some very poor specimens of his wit).

[c] Neand. Chrys. ii. 17, 114-16.

[d] Chrys. Hom. in Eutrop. c. 3 (t. iii 328, seqq.).

[e] Ib. 2-3.

arrested, and carried before the emperor; but he fearlessly asserted the right of the church to shelter the wretched, and the claim was acknowledged, although Eutropius, by leaving the sanctuary, again exposed himself to his enemies, and in consequence of his rashness was put to death.[f]

In the last days of the year 400, Chrysostom set out for Ephesus. Antoninus, bishop of that city, had been accused of selling ordination to bishopricks, and of other offences, but had died before the charges could be satisfactorily examined; and the Ephesian clergy requested the intervention of the archbishop of Constantinople. Six bishops were convicted of having bought their office from Antoninus, and were deposed. Chrysostom ordained a new bishop for Ephesus, and on his way homewards he deposed several unworthy bishops, and transferred some churches from sectaries to the catholics.[g] Some of these acts were afterwards brought against him, as having been done in excess of his jurisdiction; and in the meantime, Severian, bishop of Gabala in Syria, a celebrated preacher, whom he had left in charge of his flock, had been busily endeavouring to supplant him. Chrysostom, on being informed of this by the archdeacon Serapion, with whom Severian had quarrelled, forbade him to preach in Constantinople. Severian withdrew from the city, but was recalled by the empress, who effected a reconciliation between him and the archbishop.[h] But the desire of vengeance rankled in Severian's breast, and there were many others whom Chrysostom had offended—clergy, monks, courtiers, wealthy ladies, and even the empress herself. Acacius of Berrhœa (whose dissatisfaction has been already men-

[f] Chrys. Hom. de capto Eutrop. 1 (t. iii 386); Soc. vi. 5; Soz. viii. 7; Gothofred. n. in Cod. Theod. IX. xl. 7.

[g] Pallad. 50-6; Soz. viii. 6; Stephens' St. Chrysostom, 284 (Lond. 1872).

[h] Chrys. t. iii. 411-14; Soc. vi. 11; Soz. viii. 10.

tioned), and Antiochus, another Syrian bishop, made common cause with Severian. They endeavoured, by inquiries at Antioch, to discover some ground of accusation in the archbishop's earlier life; and, although in this their malice was disappointed,[1] they soon found an unexpected opportunity of gratifying it.

Theophilus succeeded Timothy at Alexandria in 385, and held the see until 412. He was able, bold, crafty, unscrupulous, corrupt, rapacious, and domineering.[k] In the first controversy between Jerome and Rufinus, he had acted the creditable part of a mediator.[l] His own inclinations were undoubtedly in favour of Origen; he had even deposed a bishop named Paul for his hostility to that teacher:[m] but he now found it expedient to take a different line of conduct.

We have seen that, while the monks of Nitria were admirers of Origen, others among the Egyptian recluses held him in detestation. The latter class very generally fell into the error of anthropomorphism. Thus it is related of Serapion, an aged monk of great reputation for holiness, that, when he had with much difficulty been brought to understand the falsehood of this opinion, and while the friends who had argued with him were engaged in thanksgiving for the result, he suddenly cried out, in distress at missing the image which he had been accustomed to place before his mind in prayer—"Woe is me! You have robbed me of my God, and I know not whom to worship!"[n] As it was the custom of the Alexandrian bishops, in issuing the annual letters by which the time of Easter was fixed, to annex some pastoral instructions on other subjects, Theophilus, in his paschal letter of 399, took the opportunity of denouncing anthropomor-

[1] Pallad. 20.

[k] Tillem. xi. 452-5; Walch, vii. 555; Schröckh, x. 195-8.

[l] Hieron. Ep. 82

[m] Id. c. Ruf. iii. 17; Schröckh, x. 200-1.

[n] Cassian. Collat. x. 3.

phism. On this the monks who held the doctrine exclaimed against the archbishop as a blasphemer, and a party of them rushed to Alexandria, with the intention, as was supposed, of killing him. But when Theophilus saluted them with the words "I behold you as if it were the face of God,"[o] they were pacified by his seeming agreement with their notions; at their desire he condemned Origen, and from that time he used the fanaticism of these monks, and the odiom attached to the name of Origen, as instruments of his designs.[p]

Among the most eminent of the Nitrian monks were four brothers, known as the "long" or "tall brothers"—Dioscorus, Ammonius (perhaps the same whose determined refusal of a bishoprick has been noticed in the preceding chapter),[q] Eusebius, and Euthymius. Theophilus conceived a high regard for these brothers; he compelled Dioscorus to accept the bishoprick of Hermopolis, the diocese in which the Nitrian mountain was situated, and, having drawn Eusebius and Euthymius from their solitude, he employed them in the financial business of his church. But while thus engaged they made discoveries which greatly shocked them as to the means by which Theophilus obtained funds to gratify his passion for church-building; whereupon, fearing to endanger their souls by becoming his accomplices, they left Alexandria under pretext of a wish to return to their monastic life. Theophilus soon learnt that this was not their principal motive, and resolved that they should feel his vengeance.[r] About the same time Isidore, master of a hospital at Alexandria,[s] who had been ordained presbyter

[o] Gen. xxxiii. 10.

[p] Cass. Coll. x. 2; Soc. vi. 7; Soz. viii. 11.

[q] P. 27. Yet the identity seems hardly possible as in that case Ammonius must have now been 80 years old. See Tillem. xi. 632.

[r] Pallad. 21; Soc. vi. 7.

[s] It is not certain whether this was the same Isidore who at an earlier time had been the confidant of Theophilus, and whom he had wished to promote to the see of Constantinople, in opposition to Chrysostom. Tillem. xi. 444-5; Acta

by Athanasius, and was now eighty years of age, incurred the archbishop's enmity by opposing him in some intended iniquities as to money. Theophilus charged the old man with abominable offences, of which he professed to have received information eighteen years before, although the paper which contained it had been accidentally mislaid; and Isidore, knowing his persecutor's unrelenting character, sought a refuge in Nitria.[t] The archbishop excited the anthropomorphite monks against the objects of his hatred by representing these as Origenists; he procured from an Alexandrian synod a condemnation of them for Origenism and magic; he denounced the Nitrians to the governor of Egypt as insubordinate, invaded their solitude with soldiers and hostile monks, and committed great outrages—burning cells, destroying the books and other things which were found in them, and even killing some of the recluses.[u] Dioscorus was violently dragged from his episcopal throne by Ethiopians,[x] and about three hundred monks were driven from their retreat. The "long brothers" disavowed the opinions imputed to them, saying, like Rufinus, that these had been foisted by heretics into Origen's works. With more than eighty companions they fled into Palestine; and having been dislodged thence through the interest of Theophilus, they, with about fifty others, sought a refuge at Constantinople. Chrysostom, having ascertained from some Alexandrian clergy who were then in the capital that they were men of good repute, provided them with a lodging in the buildings of the Anastasia, and wrote in their behalf to Theophilus; but, although he allowed them to join in the prayers of the church, he did not admit them to the communion of the eucharist, lest the archbishop of Alexandria should be offended.[y]

A.D. 401.

SS., Jan. 15, p. 297; Neand. Chrys. ii. 130.

[t] Soz. viii. 12; Pallad 20-2.

[u] Ib. 22-3.

[x] Ib. 23.

[y] Ib. 23-4; Soc. vi. 9; Soz. viii. 13.

The delicacy of this behaviour, however, was fruitless. It was reported at Alexandria that Chrysostom had admitted the brothers to full communion; and Theophilus, animated not only by the Alexandrian jealousy of Constantinople, but by personal dislike of the man whom he had unwillingly consecrated to the see of the "New Rome,"[z] angrily answered his letter by desiring him to respect the fifth Nicene canon, which ordered that all causes should be terminated in the province where they arose. He also sent some monks to accuse the refugees before the emperor. Chrysostom had earnestly dissuaded the brothers from carrying their complaints to the court; but on hearing of the step which their persecutor had taken, they addressed the empress as she was on her way to a church, and prayed her to grant an inquiry before a council into certain charges against Theophilus. Eudoxia was moved by their entreaties, and Theophilus was summoned to Constantinople: but as he delayed his appearance, his emissaries were examined by a prefect, and were condemned as false accusers to imprisonment, in which some of them died before their employer's arrival.[a]

In the meanwhile Theophilus circulated a monstrous set of propositions, which he ascribed to Origen, and actively endeavoured to enlist supporters.[b] Jerome, exasperated by his controversies with John of Jerusalem and Rufinus, eagerly lent his aid; he overwhelmed Theophilus with praises, and translated into Latin three of his paschal letters against Origen, with other documents relating to the controversy.[c] Some years before, Theophilus had stigmatized Epiphanius as a heretic and schismatic, on account of the anthropomorphism which was imputed to him, and of his proceedings in the Holy

[z] Pallad. 63-6.
[a] Ib. 25-6; Soc. vi. 9; Soz. viii. 12
[b] Hieron. Ep. 92; Tillem. x. 461 xii. 187; Schröckh, x. 209-11.
[c] Epp. 86, 88, 96, 98-100.

Land;[d] but he now applied to him, begging that he would join in the movement, and would write to Constantinople and elsewhere for the purpose of obtaining a general condemnation of Origenism.[e] On this Epiphanius held a synod of Cypriot bishops, condemned the reading of Origen's works, and wrote to desire that Chrysostom would do the like;[f] and, as Chrysostom took no step in the matter, the old man himself proceeded to Constantinople. Immediately after landing, he ordained a deacon, in defiance of the archbishop's rights. He refused the offers of honour and hospitality which Chrysostom pressed on him, and protested that he would hold no communication with him unless Origen were condemned and the "long brothers" were expelled. Chrysostom answered that he left both Origen and the brothers to the judgment of the council which had been summoned. Epiphanius then endeavoured, although with very little success, to obtain a declaration against Origen from the bishops who happened to be at Constantinople. An interview with the brothers, however, appears to have convinced him that the cause of his Egyptian ally was not altogether pure, so that without waiting for the expected synod, he embarked for Cyprus; and either on the voyage or soon after reaching home, he died, at the age of nearly a hundred years.[g]

Theophilus at length set out for Constantinople, taking the circuitous way by land through Syria and Asia Minor. Although he had been cited as a defendant, and was expected to appear alone,[h] he was attended by a train of Egyptian bishops, and had so assured himself of support that he declared his business to be the deposition of Chrysostom. He

June 18, 403.

[d] Pallad. 60; Fontanini, Vita Rufini, Patrol. xxi. 102.

[e] The letter is No. 90 among Jerome's Epistles.

[f] Soc. vi. 10; Baron. 399. 47.

[g] Soc. vi. 12, 14; Soz. viii. 14-15; Pagi, vi. 389; Tillem. xi. 189-93.

[h] Chrys. Ep. ad Innocent. t. iii. 516

entered the city with great pomp, and took up his abode at a suburban palace belonging to the emperor, where he remained for three weeks, refusing all communication with Chrysostom, and strengthening his interest by bribery, hospitalities, solicitations, and such other means as were likely to be effectual with persons of influence.[1] Arcadius, who was probably not in the secret of Eudoxia's policy, desired Chrysostom to proceed to a trial; but the archbishop declined, on the ground that offences committed in another province did not belong to his juris diction.[k]

Theophilus, when he had matured his plans, summoned Chrysostom to appear before a synod at the Oak, a villa near Chalcedon, on the opposite side of the Bosphorus to Constantinople. The president of this synod was the bishop of Heraclea, who, as metropolitan of the province within which the new dignity of Constantinople had been erected, was naturally disposed to lend himself to the humiliation of its occupant. A long list of charges, mostly false or grossly exaggerated, and concocted by Theophilus with the help of two deacons who had been deposed for serious crimes,[l] was produced against Chrysostom. They related to faults in the administration of his church and its funds; to his conduct towards the clergy, in depriving some, severely reproving others, and the like; to his private habits of life; to ritual irregularities; to doctrines which he had vented, and expressions which he had used, in his sermons:[m] but, although Origenism was the pretext for the Alexandrian bishop's whole proceed-

[1] Pallad. 26.

[k] Chrys. ad Innoc. t. iii. 516. This scruple seems not to have been applicable to the case. Tillem. xi. 195; Schröckh, x. 230.

[l] Pallad. 26.

[m] Soc. vi. 15; Photius, Biblioth. Cod. 59; Hard. i. 1038-41; Neand. Chrys. ii. 152-60. Among other things, he was charged with having styled the empress *Jezebel* (Pallad. 30)—a charge which probably originated in some misconception. Zosimus (whose account of the affair from the pagan point of view is curious) represents Chrysostom as a demagogue, and says that he was always attacking the empress in his sermons, v. 23-4.

ings, he did not venture to include it in the indictment.[n] Chrysostom had with him forty bishops—a larger assemblage than the synod of his opponents, and more fairly composed, inasmuch as of the thirty-six bishops who met at the Oak all but seven belonged to the Egyptian province.[o] He earnestly besought his partisans to avoid a rupture, even although it were necessary that he himself should be sacrificed for the sake of peace. Two bishops from the hostile synod entered the assembly, and in an insolent manner summoned Chrysostom to appear at the Oak. The bishops who surrounded him answered that Theophilus ought rather to come and take his trial before themselves; but Chrysostom professed himself ready to meet all accusations before the irregular tribunal, provided that his declared enemies, Theophilus, Acacius, Antiochus, and Severian, were not allowed to sit as judges. The citation was repeated a second and third time, but he continued to disregard it. After many hours had been spent in these fruitless communications, the bishops at the Oak received a message from the court, urging them to pronounce a decision; whereupon they condemned Chrysostom as contumacious, and added that he was also guilty of treason, but that, as that offence was beyond their jurisdiction, they left the punishment of it to the emperor. Arcadius did not proceed to the extent which this malicious sentence suggested, but con-

[n] That Theophilus was not actuated by any real abhorrence of Origenism appears from his earlier conduct; from his reconciliation with the survivors of the "long brothers" when he had gained his object in the fall of Chrysostom (Soc. vi. 15; Soz. viii. 17); and from his having, some years later, forced episcopal consecration on the philosopher Synesius, notwithstanding that, among other hindrances, he avowed opinions which varied from those of the church in the same direction as Origen's, but perhaps to a greater extent—as to the pre-existence of souls, the imperishableness of the world, and a denial of the resurrection of the body (Synes. Ep. 105, ed. Petav. Paris, 1652; Baron. 410. 77, with Pagi's notes; Tillem. xii. 516-21.) As to the last of these points, Synesius afterwards retracted his error. Phot. Biblioth. Cod. 26.

[o] Pallad. 27. See note in Fleury, ii. 36.

tented himself with condemning the archbishop to deposition and banishment.[p]

Chrysostom held himself bound not to abandon his post, unless compelled by force. He was anxiously guarded by his people for three days, until, hearing that the emperor intended to seize him, and dreading some serious tumult, he surrendered himself, and was immediately sent across the Bosphorus.[q] The people, on learning that he was in custody, beset the palace with cries for their pastor, and in the course of the following night the city was shaken by an earthquake. The empress, alarmed both by the danger of an insurrection and by supernatural terrors, hastily despatched a messenger to the archbishop, with a letter in which she assured him that she was guiltless of his banishment, and desired him to return. In the meantime the agitation at Constantinople was extreme. The entrance of Theophilus into the city was the signal for affrays between the populace and his Alexandrian sailors, which became so serious that he thought it well to retire; and Severian, who ventured to preach against Chrysostom, was forcibly driven out.[r]

The archbishop's return was hailed with enthusiasm. The Bosphorus was covered with vessels of all sizes, which were crowded by multitudes eager to welcome him. It had been his intention to remain without the city until his deposition should be annulled by a council greater than that which had condemned him; but the excitement of the people, and a fear lest it should be turned against the emperor, induced him to proceed to the cathedral, where, yielding to the cries of the congregation, he took his seat on the throne, and delivered an extemporal address, in which the invasion of his church

[p] Chrys. ad Innoc. Ep. 1; Pallad. 27-30; Soz. viii. 17.

[q] Soc. vi. 15; Soz. viii. 18.

[r] Chrys. Hom. post Reditum, 4 (t. iii. 430); Soc. iii. 19; Soz. viii. 18; Neand. Chrys. ii. 165-72.

by the bishop of Alexandria was paralleled with the seizure and the forced restoration of Abraham's wife by the Egyptian king.[s] Theophilus forthwith set out for Alexandria, covering his discomfiture by the pretext that his flock could no longer endure his absence.[t]

Chrysostom's triumph appeared to be complete; but before two months had passed his enemies found a new ground for attacking him. A silver statue of the empress was erected near the cathedral, and was inaugurated with the unruly and somewhat heathenish rejoicings which were usual on such occasions. The archbishop—after (it is said) having sent remonstrances to the court, which were intercepted by the way—expressed in a sermon his strong condemnation of the scenes which were taking place almost at the doors of his church, and his language was repeated, probably with malicious exaggeration, so that the empress was violently offended.[u] The offence was increased by a sermon preached on the festival of the Beheading of St. John the Baptist, which is said to have opened with the words, "Again Herodias rages; again Herodias is agitated; again she requires the head of John." It is incredible that Chrysostom could have meant to point these words at the empress; it is doubtful whether he used them at all; but his enemies either invented or misapplied them, and hopefully resumed their intrigues.[x] Theophilus did not again venture to go to Constantinople, but from his own city directed the proceedings of Severian and his other allies.[y] Aug. 29.

At Christmas 403, Arcadius announced to the archbishop that he could not communicate with him until he had cleared himself of certain accusations. A synod was

[s] Chrys. t. iii. 427; Pallad. 30; Soz. viii. 18.

[t] Soc. vi. 15.

[u] Ib. 18; Tillem. xi. 215-16.

[x] Soc. vi. 18; Soz. viii. 20. An extant sermon, which begins with the words in question (ap. Chrys. t. viii. Append. 1) is not by Chrysostom. See Stephens, 342.

[y] Pallad. 3

held early in the following year, and Chrysostom was charged before it with having violated the twelfth canon of Antioch (originally enacted against St. Athanasius)[z] by resuming his see without ecclesiastical sanction after having been deposed by a council. His friends—for he had forty-two bishops on his side—replied that the canon did not apply to his case, and, moreover, that it was the work of heretics; one of them caused some confusion among the opposite party by proposing, in the emperor's presence, that those who wished to act on the canon should sign the creed of its authors. The objections, however, were overruled, and Chrysostom was condemned.[a]

A.D. 404. At the approach of Easter, Arcadius, urged on by the archbishop's enemies, intimated to him that, after having been sentenced to deposition by two synods, he must not enter the church. On Easter-eve, during the administration of baptism which was customary on that vigil, several of the churches were attacked by soldiers, who drove out the congregations—among them the women who were undrest for baptism—and committed gross profanations. The candidates for baptism took refuge in the baths of Constantine, where the administration of the sacrament was continued, and, when driven thence, they repaired to a circus outside the walls, from which also they were dislodged;[b] it would seem, however, that Chrysostom was afterwards allowed to resume possession of the churches. Within a short space of time two attempts were made on his life by assassins.[c] In Whitsun-week the emperor sent him a mandate to leave the episcopal house. As it was evident that he must now yield to force, he took a solemn farewell of his friends. To each class he addressed suitable admonitions; he entreated that they would not despair for

[z] See vol. i. p. 307.
[a] Pallad. 31-2; Soc. vi. 18.
[b] Chrys. ad Innoc. t. iii. 519; Pallad. 33-5; Soc. vi. 18; Soz. viii. 21.
[c] Tillem. xi. 232; Neand. Chrys. ii 180.

the loss of an individual, but would receive any bishop who should be appointed by general consent; and, while his mule was held in waiting at one door of the cathedral, in order to divert the attention of his people, who for weeks had guarded him day and night, he left the building by an opposite door, and gave himself up, declaring that he referred his cause to an impartial council.[d]

The discovery of his removal from Constantinople produced a great excitement. Next day the cathedral and the splendid palace of the senate were burnt.[e] Each party charged the other with incendiarism; but the Joannites (as Chrysostom's adherents were called), being obnoxious to the imperial government, were cruelly treated on account of the fire, and some of them were put to death. Among others, Olympias was questioned on suspicion of having been concerned in the fire. "My life hitherto," she said, "is an answer to the charge. One who has spent much on building churches is not a likely person to destroy them."[f] Arsacius, a man of eighty, brother to Nectarius, was appointed to the see of Constantinople, and, after having feebly held it for a year, was succeeded by Atticus.[g] In A.D. 406. the meantime the Joannites saw the vengeance of heaven in earthquakes and hailstorms, in the death of Eudoxia (Oct. 6th, 404), and in the calamities which befell other persons who had been conspicuous among the enemies of the expelled archbishop.[h]

Chrysostom, after having been carried across the Bosphorus, was allowed to remain nearly a month at Nicæa. He earnestly pressed for an investigation of his cause, but in vain.[i] It was in vain, too, that both he

[d] Pallad. 35-6: Soz. viii. 22.
[e] Zosim. v. 24.
[f] Soc. vi. 18; Baron. 404. 44, 52.
[g] Soc. vi. 19; Tillem. xi. 235, 309; xii. 420. Palladius describes Arsacius as "more dumb than a fish, and more inefficient than a frog." 37.
[h] Soc. vi. 19; Soz. viii. 27.
[i] Neand. Chrys. ii. 154.

and his friends entreated that some endurable residence might be assigned as the place of his banishment. After a toilsome and tedious journey, in which he was in danger from robbers, and much more from fanatical monks,[k] he reached Cucusus, among the ridges of Mount Taurus, the scene of the exile and death of his predecessor Paul.[l] During his sojourn in this remote and wretched little town, he suffered from want of provisions, from the alternate excesses of heat and cold, from frequent sicknesses, in which it was impossible to obtain medicines, and from the ravages of Isaurian robbers, which at length compelled him to take shelter in the fortress of Arabissus.[m] But the years of his banishment were fuller of honour and influence than any portion of his previous life. He kept up a correspondence with churches in all quarters ;[n] even the bishop of Rome, Innocent, who was strongly interested in his favour, treated him on terms of equality.[o] From the bishop of Cucusus and his other neighbours he met with reverential kindess.[p] Many pilgrims sought him out in his secluded abode, from a desire to express their veneration for him. He directed missionary labours in Persia and among the Goths ;[q] while his friends at a distance supplied him with funds so amply, that he was not only able to support these missions and to redeem captives, but even had to request that their overflowing liberality might be directed into other channels.[r] He wrote frequent letters of advice and consolation to the bishops and clergy who had been involved in his fall, and to his adherents at Constantinople, who were subjected to great severities for re-

[k] Epp. 8-14 (t. iii.).

[l] See vol. i. p. 316.

[m] Epp. 4, 6, 68-9, 146, &c. ; Tillem. xi. 263, 314 ; Neand. Chrys. ii. 212-13.

[n] *E.g.*, Ep. 149 is addressed to Aurelius, bishop of Carthage.

[o] Innoc. Ep. 12 (Petrol. xx.); Chrys. t. iii. 515-24; Pallad. 5-10 ; Soz. viii. 26 ; Tillem. xi. 263, seqq.

[p] Ep. 14.

[q] Ib.

[r] Soz. viii. 27 ; Tillem. xi. 228-30, 272 ; Schröckh, x. 474 ; Neand. Chrys. ii. 194-229.

fusing to communicate with his intruded successors.[s] The western emperor and the bishop of Rome joined in desiring that his cause should be again tried by an impartial council of the whole church;[t] but the relations of the divisions of the empire towards each other were unfavourable to the success of the proposal, and some envoys who were sent from the west to the court of Arcadius were imprisoned and were treated with great indignity.[u]

After Chrysostom had spent three years in exile, the interest which he continued to excite provoked his enemies to still more rigorous measures against him. He was sentenced to be removed to Pityus, a town on the extreme frontier of the empire, to the east of the Euxine; and in the summer of 407 he was carried off from Arabissus. On the journey his bodily ailments were renewed or aggravated by exposure to violent heat. At Comana, a city of Pontus (now Gumenek),[x] he requested his conductors to halt, as he felt the approach of death. He exchanged his mean dress for the best which he possessed; he received the holy eucharist, and, after uttering the words, "Glory be to God for all things!" he expired as he added "Amen."[y] Sept. 14, 407.

The Joannites remained a separate body for some years longer. Theophilus—although after Chrysostom's banishment he wrote a brutal book against him, which was eagerly translated into Latin by Jerome[z]—advised

[s] Pallad. 38, 76-9; Chrys. Epp. 13, seqq. (t. iii.).

[t] Innoc. Epp. 7-9 (Patrol. xx.); Chrys. t. iii. 524, seqq.

[u] Pallad. 13; Soz. viii. 28; Tillem. x. 640; xi. 248-50, 318.

[x] See Smith's Dict. of Geography. There was another Comana, in Cappadocia.

[y] Pallad. 39, 40; Soz. viii. 28.

[z] See Hieron. Ep. 114, and the note. For Jerome's treatment of Chrysostom, see Schröckh, x. 240. Baronius (404. 135) wishes it to be believed that Jerome was so afflicted by Chrysostom's banishment as even to have fallen ill. But, as Tillemont (x. 264-5) points out, the real cause of his affliction was that the exile met with sympathy.

Atticus to deal leniently with them. Alexander of Antioch (the same who succeeded in putting an end to the Eustathian schism) led the way in acknowledging the orthodoxy of Chrysostom by inserting his name in the diptychs of his church,[a] and the example was followed elsewhere, until at length Atticus, at A.D. 417. the urgent entreaty of the people and the court, and with a view to obtaining the communion of the west, consented to admit the name into the diptychs of Constantinople.[b] By this act, and by the general observance of a moderate and conciliatory policy, he regained many Joannites to his communion;[c] and the schism was finally extinguished in 438, under the episcopate of Proclus, when the relics of the banished archbishop were translated from Comana. As the vessel which bore them approached the capital, the population, in numbers far greater than those which had welcomed the living Chrysostom's return from exile, swarmed forth over the Bosphorus in boats; and the emperor, Theodosius II., bending over the coffin, entreated the saint to forgive the guilt of Arcadius and Eudoxia.[d]

But the see of Constantinople never recovered the wound which it had received in the banishment of Chrysostom. Its patriarchs, with few exceptions, were, from that time, little more than pliant officers of the court.[e]

[a] Theod. v. 35.

[b] Innoc. Ep. 22, Acta SS., Jan. 8, p. 379; Pagi, vii. 98-9; Tillem. x. 658; xi. 349; xii. 425.

[c] Soc. vii. 2, 25.

[d] Soz. vii. 41; Theod. v. 36; Gibbon, iv. 478. By the Roman law the punishment of exile continued after death, so that the remains of a person who had died in banishment could not be removed without the imperial permission. De Rossi, Roma Sotterr. ii. 78, quoting Marcian in Digest. xlviii. 24. 2, and Tacitus, Annal. xiv. 12.

[e] Milman, iii. 438.

# CHAPTER II.

## ST. AUGUSTINE.—DONATISM.—PELAGIANISM.

I. The great light of the western church in this age was St. Augustine, a teacher of wider and more lasting influence than any since the apostles. The history of his earlier years is given by himself in the well-known 'Confessions,' where he solemnly acknowledges his errors, and magnifies the gracious Providence which had guided him through many perils and conflicts to truth and peace.

Augustine was born in 354, at Thagaste, an episcopal city of Numidia.[a] His father, Patricius, a man of curial rank, but in indifferent circumstances, was then a heathen;[b] but his mother, Monica, a devout and exemplary Christian,[c] caused the boy to be admitted in infancy as a catechumen of the church. He tells us that, when alarmed by a sudden and dangerous illness in his childhood, he earnestly desired baptism, and that preparations were made for administering it; but as the danger passed over, it was considered better that the sacrament should be deferred, lest he should incur a heavier guilt by falling into sin after having received the baptismal grace.[d] Patricius, although himself a man of loose habits,[e] and careless of his son's moral and religious training, exerted himself even beyond his means to obtain for him a good literary education, in the hope that it would lead to some honourable and lucrative employment;[f] and with this view Augustine, after having acquired the elements

[a] Nov. 13. Pagi, v. 439. Bindemann's date is 353. 'Der heil. Augustinus,' (Berl. and Greifswald, 1844-69) i. 1. [b] Confess. i. 11. Bindemann points out a part of her character which is often overlooked—that she was an active housewife, and possessed a shrewd and ready humour i. 5. [c] Confess. i. 11. [d] Ib. ix. 6. [e] Ib. ii. 3.

of learning at Thagaste, was sent to pursue his studies at the schools of Madaura and Carthage. It would seem that his abilities were conspicuous from an early age, but that his application of them was uncertain and capricious; he read the Latin poets with eager fondness, but disliked the study of Greek; and his boyish neglect of that language was but very imperfectly remedied in after life.[g] At the age of seventeen, about the time of his removal to Carthage, he lost his father, who had at last been persuaded, as much by the discreet and gentle conduct of Monica as by her arguments, to embrace the Christian faith.[h] A rich citizen of Thagaste, Romanian,[i] assisted the widow to bear the expense of her son's education, and Augustine's talents promised to render him distinguished. But he had early fallen into dissolute courses, and at Carthage he took a concubine, by whom he became, at the age of eighteen, the father of a boy Adeodatus.[k]

In his nineteenth year, the reading of Cicero's 'Hortensius' awakened in Augustine a longing after a higher life; but on turning to the Scriptures in search of wisdom, he found them simple and uninviting,[l] while he was attracted in another direction by the specious promises of the Manichæans, their ridicule of submission to authority, and their speculations as to the origin of evil.[m] This sect had made considerable progress during the course of the fourth century; it had profited by the dissensions of the church, and perhaps in a great degree by receiving accessions from the old and decaying gnostic parties.[n] Although many laws spoke of it as more abominable than other heretical societies, and

[g] Conf. i. 12-14; ii. 3; Bind. i. 14.

[h] Conf. ix. 9; Tillem. xiii. 15; Bind. i. 7, 23

[i] Aug. c. Academ. ii. 3; Bind. i. 24.

[k] Conf. ii. 3; iii. 2; De Util. Credendi, i. 2.

[l] Conf. iii. 4-5.

[m] Ib. 5; Villemain, Eloq. Chrét 379; Bind. i. 39-43, 92-5.

[n] Niebuhr, Vortr. iii. 314.

enacted penalties of especial severity against it,[o] proselytism was actively carried on in secret, and the Manichæan doctrines lurked even among the clergy and the monks. Augustine became a convert to these doctrines, and was a member of the sect from his nineteenth to his twenty-eighth year.[p] But after a time he was startled and disgusted by observing the sensuality and hypocrisy of the "elect," who were bound to profess the most ascetic strictness, and also by the discoveries which he made as to the immoral and revolting maxims of the sectaries.[q] He looked for a solution of his doubts to Faustus, a Manichæan bishop of great fame, who was expected to visit Carthage; but, when Faustus came, he found him to be not free from the usual inconsistency between profession and practice, and his discourse to be as empty as it was fluent and showy.[r]

Augustine had taught grammar and rhetoric, first at his native town and then at Carthage; but he found the disorderly habits of the Carthaginian students intolerable,[s] and in order to escape from this annoyance—not (he assures us) from any desire of greater fame or profit—he removed to Rome in 383.[t] Soon after his arrival he fell seriously ill; but he felt no inclination to beg for baptism, as in the sickness of his childhood. On his recovery, his dislike of Manichæism was stronger than before, and for a time he was given over to the desolateness of universal scepticism.[u] The prospect of earning a maintenance at Rome became doubtful; for he found that the Roman youth, although not so unruly as those of Africa, were apt to desert a professor without paying for the lectures which they had heard; and after a residence of

[o] "Qui ad imum usque scelerum pervenerunt Manichæi." Theod. et Valent. A.D. 428, Cod. Just. I. v. 5. Under the same title there are later laws against the sect. See above, vol. i. p. 404; Schröckh, xi. 241-58.

[p] Conf. iii. 11; iv. 1.

[q] De Mor. Manich. ii. 67, seqq.; Tillem. xiii. 34-7; Bind. i. 134-41.

[r] Conf. v. 3-6; c. Faust. v. 7.

[s] Conf. v. 8.

[t] Ib.

[u] Ib. 9-10.

about six months in the capital, he was glad to obtain an appointment as a public teacher of rhetoric at Milan.[x]

Here he attended the sermons of Ambrose—not for the sake of religious instruction, but in order to ascertain whether the bishop's eloquence deserved its fame. But by degrees the words of Ambrose produced an effect. Augustine found that the Manichæan objections against the catholic faith were mostly founded on ignorance and misapprehension;[y] the preacher's allegorical explanations of the Old Testament showed him a way (although in truth a very dangerous way) by which he might escape from the difficulties of Scripture—"the letter that killeth."[z] Monica, who had strongly opposed his departure from Africa, rejoined him at Milan. She had watched his errors with deep anxiety and sorrow. Her prayers had been rewarded by visions which assured her that he would one day be converted; and, in the hope of bringing about the change, she had begged an aged bishop to converse with him. The bishop, a man of wisdom and learning, told her that it would be useless to argue with her son while flushed with the novelty of the Manichæan doctrines, but that, if he were left to himself for a time, he could hardly fail to discover the vanity and impiety of the system; and he encouraged the hope by adding that he himself had been a member of the sect in his youth, but had seen reason to forsake its errors. Monica still continued to urge her petition, even with tears; but the bishop dismissed her with the assurance that it was "impossible that the child of those tears should perish," and the words were treasured up as if they had been a voice from heaven.[a] She had now the delight of finding her son no longer a Manichæan, but a catechumen of the church; for he

A.D. 384. Autumn.

[x] Conf. v. 12-13.

[y] De Mor. Eccl. Cath. i. 10.

[z] Conf. iii. 5-7; v. 10, 13-14; vi. 3-4. See specimens of anti-Manichæan interpretation, c. Faust. l. xxii.

[a] Conf. iii. 11-12

had resolved to resume that character until he could obtain some certainty of conviction; and she confidently expressed to him the hope of seeing him a catholic believer before her death.[b] His baser passions, however, were not yet overcome.[c]

Through various difficulties Augustine struggled onwards. He had found much support for his mind in the Platonic writings, while yet they failed to satisfy his cravings.[d] He now devoted himself to the study of St. Paul, with feelings far different from those which in his nineteenth year had led him to slight the simplicity of the Scriptures; and he found that the difficulties and seeming inconsistencies, which had once repelled him, vanished away.[e] On hearing from one of his countrymen, who happened to visit him, some details as to the lives of Antony and other monks, and as to the monastic system (which until then had been utterly unknown to him),[f] he was greatly impressed; the vileness of his own past life rose up before his mind in contrast, and excited violent agitations.[g] One day, when unable, in the wild conflict of his thoughts, to bear even the society of his dearest friend, Alypius, he rushed forth into the garden of his lodging, cast himself down under a fig-tree, and, with a gush of tears, passionately cried out for deliverance from the bondage of his sins. While thus engaged, he heard, as if from a neighbouring house, the voice of a child singing repeatedly, "Take up and read." He could not remember that such words were used in any childish game; he bethought himself of the impression made on St. Antony by the Scriptures which were read in church,[h] and believed that he was himself now called by

[b] Conf. v. 14; vi. 1; De Util. Cred. 10.
[c] Conf. vi. 13-15.
[d] Ib. vii. 9, 20; Neand. iii. 504; Ritter, vii. 160.
[e] Conf. vii. 21.
[f] Monachism, as we have seen (p. 12), was as yet unknown in Africa, and, although there was a monastery at Milan, it had not attracted Augustine's notice. Conf. viii. 6.
[g] Ib. viii. 6-19.
[h] See p. 2.

a voice from heaven. Returning to the house, he seized the volume of St. Paul's epistles, and opened on the text, "Not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying: but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh to fulfil the lusts thereof."[1] From that moment Augustine felt himself another man;[k] but, as he did not wish to attract notice by any display of the change, he continued to perform the duties of his professorship until the vintage vacation, when he resigned it, and retired into the country with his mother and some friends. On Easter-eve 387, he was baptized by St. Ambrose, together with his son Adeodatus, and Alypius his countryman and pupil, whom he had formerly drawn into Manichæism, and who eventually became bishop of Thagaste.[l] In compliance with Monica's wishes, he soon after set out towards Africa; but at Ostia the pious matron died, rejoicing that the desire of her heart was fulfilled in the conversion of her son.[m]

As his mother's death had done away with Augustine's motive for hastening his return to Africa, he now repaired to Rome, where he resided upwards of a year, and produced, among other works, two books on the contrast between catholic and Manichæan morality.[n] Towards the end of 388 he resumed his journey, and, after a short stay at Carthage, he settled at his native place, where he gave up his property to pious and charitable uses, and for nearly three years lived in studious and devotional retirement, which was shared by Alypius and

Rom. xiii. 13-14.

[k] Conf. viii. 12.

[l] Ib. ix. 2-6. Over the entrance to a little chapel, near the church of St. Ambrose, at Milan, is the inscription:—

"Divus Augustinus
Ad Lucem Fidei
Per Sanctum Ambrosium
Evocatus,
Hic unda Cælesti
Abluitur,
Anno Domini CCCLXXXVIII."

It will be seen that this date is a year too late.

[m] Conf. ix. 10-12.

[n] 'De Moribus Eccl. Cath. et de Moribus Manichæorum' (Opera, t. i.)

other friends.[o] His earlier history and his conversion, his sacrifice of worldly goods, his religious life and his writings, spread his fame far and wide, so that he was afraid to appear in any city where the bishoprick was vacant, lest he should be forcibly seized and compelled to accept the dignity. He supposed himself, however, to be safe in accepting an invitation to Hippo the Royal (so called from having been anciently the residence of the Numidian kings),[p] as the see was filled by Valerius; but as he was in church, listening A.D. 391. to the bishop's sermon, Valerius began to speak of the necessity of ordaining an additional presbyter: whereupon the people presented Augustine, and he was forced to submit to ordination.[q] Valerius admitted him to his confidence, and gave him a large share in the administration of the diocese. Being a Greek by birth, the bishop felt a difficulty in preaching in Latin, and was glad to relieve himself by employing Augustine as his substitute; and, although it was at first objected to, as a novelty in Africa, that a presbyter should preach in the presence of a bishop, the example was soon imitated in other dioceses.[r] At the end of four years, Valerius, on the ground that his own age and infirmity rendered the assistance of a coadjutor necessary, desired that Augustine might be consecrated as his colleague in the see of Hippo; and Augustine was obliged to yield. Both he and Valerius were then ignorant that the eighth Nicene canon forbade the establishment of two bishops in the same city, except in cases where one was a reconciled Novatianist.[s] Valerius did not long survive the appointment of his colleague.[t]

Augustine held the bishoprick of Hippo for five-and-

[o] Possidius, 2-3; Tillem. xiii. 119-25; Bindem. ii. 47-126. Adeodatus seems to have died during this period. See Bind. ii. 89

[p] Ib. 128.

[q] Possid. 4.

[r] Ib. 5; Tillem. xiii. 147-8, 152.

[s] Possid. 8; Pagi, vi. 240; Schröckh. xv. 325-6.

[t] Tillem. xiii. 285.

thirty years, and, although the city was inferior in importance to many others, his genius and character caused him to be acknowledged, without any assumption on his own part, as the leader of the African church.[u] The vast collection of his works includes treatises on Christian doctrine and practice, expositions of Scripture, controversial books against Manichæans, Donatists, Pelagians, and other sectaries, a great number of sermons,[x] and upwards of two hundred and fifty letters, among which are many elaborate answers to questions of theology and casuistry. His greatest work, 'Of the City of God,' was written, as has been already mentioned,[y] in consequence of the force with which the old pagan objection against Christianity, as the cause of public calamities, was urged after the capture of Rome by the Goths.[z] The composition of this treatise was begun in 412 or 413, and was not finished until 426. In the first five books, Augustine meets the argument from the calamities of the times; in the next five, he argues against those who, while they allowed that paganism had not, in the days of its ascendency, secured its votaries against temporal evils, yet maintained that it was availing for the next life; and in the remaining twelve books, he contrasts the two polities—the earthly and the "City of God"—in their origin, their course, and their end.[a] Some defects of the work are obvious: as, that the reasoning is not always satisfactory; that much of what is said has no visible bearing on the theme; that here, as elsewhere, Augustine is driven, by his want of acquaintance with the original languages, to evade questions as to the real meaning of

A.D. 395-430.

[u] Thus Prosper says of a council which condemned Pelagius—

"Cui dux Aurelius, ingeniumque
Augustinus erat."—*De Ingratis*, 91-2.

[x] His preaching is treated at great length in Prof. Bindemann's second volume. For his books against Manichæism, see vol. iii. c. 3. ibid.

[y] P. 84.

[z] De Civ. Dei, i. 2.

[a] Aug. Retract. ii. 43.

Scripture, and to take refuge in allegories and forced applications. It is said, also, that the learning which appears so copious is in great measure borrowed from secondary sources.[b] But on the whole this elaborate work, which is at once the last and most important of the apologies against paganism, and the first of professed treatises on the Church, deserves to be regarded as alike noble in the conception and in the execution.[c]

The exemplary labours of Augustine in his diocese cannot be here detailed; but it is necessary to notice at some length the two principal controversies in which he was engaged—the sequel of that with the Donatists, and the new controversy which was occasioned by the opinions of Pelagius.

II. After their condemnation by Constans in 348,[d] the Donatists remained in exile until the reign of Julian. As the edict by which that emperor recalled persons who were suffering on account of religion[e] applied to such only as had been banished by his immediate predecessor, these sectaries could not benefit by it. They therefore presented a petition to Julian, expressing respect for his character and reliance on his justice in terms which were not only inconsistent with their former attitude towards the civil power, but afforded their opponents ground for reproaching them with flattery of the apostate and persecutor.[f] The petition was successful, and they signalized their A.D. 362.

[b] See Dupin, iii. 237; Schröckh, vii. 247-313; Ozanam, 'Civil. Chrét. au 5me Siècle,' ii. 215. Schröckh throughout speaks of St. Augustine in an unjustifiable tone of disparagement.

[c] Milman, iii. 277-82.

[d] P. 279.

[e] P. 348.

[f] *E.g.* Optatus, ii. 16; Aug. c. Ep. Parmen. 1-12; c. Litt. Petil. ii. 203. Honorius, in a law of A.D. 400 (Cod. Theod. XVI. v. 37), ordered that copies of their application to Julian and of his law in their favour should be posted up in public places for their confusion.

return from banishment by triumphant displays of intolerance. "If they obtained possession of a church which had been used by the catholics, they washed the pavement, scraped the walls, burnt the altar, which was commonly of wood, melted the consecrated plate, and cast the holy eucharist to the dogs."[g] The Donatists were now the stronger party in Numidia, and were powerful throughout the African provinces; but after the brief reign of Julian, they again became obnoxious to the government, and several laws were directed against them. Valentinian I., by an exception to his general policy of abstaining from interference with religion, enacted penalties against their practice of rebaptizing (A.D. 373).[h] Gratian ordered, in 377, that their churches should be given up to the catholics, and that any places where they should hold meetings should be confiscated;[i] and in the following year, at the request of a Roman council, he expelled their bishop from Rome.[k] These laws do not appear to have been rigidly executed; but in other ways the interest of Donatism suffered greatly during the latter part of the fourth century.

The working of the schismatical spirit produced many divisions in the sect—each little fraction maintaining that it alone retained the true baptism, and excommunicating all the rest.[l] The most considerable separation took place after the death of Parmenian, who had succeeded Donatus as leader of the party, and for forty years had guided it with vigour and skill.[m] In 392 he was succeeded by Primian, who soon after had a violent quarrel with a deacon named Maximian, and excommunicated him. The original history of the schism was now re-

[g] Gibbon, ii. 188; Optat. ii. 17, 19, 21; vi. 1, 2, 5, 6; Aug. c. Litt. Petil. ii. 184.

[h] Dupin, Append. ad Optat. 314.

[i] Ib. 316. [k] Hard. i. 840, 843.

[l] Baron. 394. 41; Tillem. vi 150-2; Schröckh, xi. 384.

[m] Parmenian was not an African by birth, and Optatus charitably supposes that he must have been misled by false accounts of the origin of the schism. ii. 3

peated by rival factions of the Donatists. Maximian found a new Lucilla in a wealthy lady. Primian was condemned by two councils,—the second consisting of more than a hundred bishops; he was declared to be deposed, and twelve bishops joined in consecrating Maximian to the see of Carthage.[n] A.D. 393-4. But without paying any regard to these proceedings, Primian assembled at Bagai a council of three hundred and ten bishops, by which Maximian was condemned. In pursuance of this sentence, Maximian and his consecrators were ejected from their churches by the assistance of the civil power, and in some cases not without violence and cruelty; while the other Maximianist bishops were invited to rejoin the communion of Primian within a certain time, with a promise that their baptism and orders should be acknowledged as valid. In this affair, every principle of the original schism was either violated by the victorious party or carried out to manifest absurdity by the vanquished; and the history of it supplied the catholic controversialists with weapons which they did not fail to turn to account.[o]

The leader in the literary warfare against Donatism was Optatus, bishop of Milevis, who about 370, in answer to a book by Parmenian, ably exposed both the history of the schism and the grounds on which its adherents professed to rest it.[p] About the same time a grammarian named Tichonius, although himself a Donatist, did much

[n] Dupin, Append. 319-22; Aug. Ep. xliii. 26; Baron. 394. 34, seqq.; Pagi, vi. 154-7; Tillem. vi. 160-4; Walch, iv. 262-8.

[o] *E.g.* Collat. Carth. ap. Hard. i. 1060, 1070-1; Aug. Brevic. Collat. iii. 9, seqq.; c. Ep. Parmen. i. 8, seqq.; c. Litt. Petil. iii. 45-6; c. Crescon. l. iv.; Gesta c. Emerito, 9.

[p] 'De Schismate Donatistarum,' (Patrol. xi.). It was enlarged after its first publication (Dupin, Præf. i. 2). There was another Optatus, Donatistic bishop of Thamugade, who attached himself to the pagan tyrant Gildo, by means of whose soldiery he for ten years exercised great barbarities against the catholics of his neighbourhood, until in 398 he was involved in his patron's ruin, and died in prison. Augustine often reproached the Donatists with this "Gildonian's" proceedings, as in-

to injure his party by a treatise in which he maintained that the church could not be confined to one corner, but must be diffused throughout the world; that the sins of the evil members do not cause a failure of God's promises to it; and that baptism administered without the true church might be valid.[q] But Augustine became the most formidable and effective opponent of Donatism.

When ordained a presbyter, he found that the Donatists were a majority in Hippo, where he tells us, in illustration of the sectarian spirit, that their bishop would not allow any of his flock even to bake for their catholic neighbours.[r] Augustine's first contribution to the controversy was a "psalm" or metrical piece, intended to furnish the less educated people with some knowledge of the question in a form which might assist the memory;[s] it opens by setting forth the scriptural doctrine as to the mixture of evil with good in the visible church, sketches the history of the schism, and, after twenty parts, which begin with the successive letters of the alphabet, it concludes with exhortations to unity.[t] This attack was followed up from time to time by treatises in answer to the most eminent Donatistic champions, and by letters to members of the sect, which are usually written in an admirable spirit of charity and courtesy. Augustine also endeavoured to bring the Donatists to conferences; but in this he rarely succeeded. Sometimes the refusal was rested on the ground that his dialectical

A.D. 393.

consistent with their pretensions to purity of communion. See an account of him in Tillemont, vi. 180-4.

[q] Aug. adv. Parmen. i. 1; Gennad. de Script. Eccl. 18; Neand. iii. 296. In explanation of his continuing with these views to be a Donatist, it has been suggested that he may have written with a design of reconciling his party and the catholics, and, until a reunion could be effected, may have preferred that communion which made the greater pretensions to purity. Schröckh, xi. 381.

[r] Contr. Litt. Petil. ii. 184.

[s] Retract. i. 20.

[t] Aug. in Patrol. xliii. 33, seqq. (This volume contains the treatises against the Donatists, with an appendi of documents.)

skill would give him an unfair advantage;[u] sometimes it was in a more insolent form—that the children of the martyrs could not condescend to argue with sinners and traditors.[x] His attempts at conciliation were repelled by the obstinate bigotry of the sect.[y] With a view to the common maintenance of discipline, he proposed that, when a person who was under censure of either community applied for admission into the other, it should not be granted except on condition of his submitting to penance; but although Augustine himself scrupulously observed this rule, he was unable to establish a mutual agreement in it, as the Donatists, for the sake of swelling their numbers, not only belied their profession by retaining notorious offenders in their communion, but indiscriminately received all sorts of proselytes.[z]

The councils of the African catholics made frequent reference to the Donatists, and generally in a moderate and conciliatory tone. They offered, even when impeded by decrees which had forbidden such concessions, to acknowledge the Donatist clergy in their orders and position.[a] The clergy interposed to moderate the execution of the laws against the sectaries;[b] and by various means—especially by making known the earlier documents of the schism—they gained many converts to the church.[c] But the success of their exertions exasperated the fury of the circumcellions, who committed barbarous outrages against the catholic clergy, and rendered it unsafe for catholics to live in country places; while the bishops of the sect were either afraid or unwilling to interfere or to grant redress.[d] Augustine himself had a provi-

[u] C. Litt. Pet'l. iii. 19; c. Crescon. i. 16.

[x] Ad Donat. post Collat. 37.

[y] Tillem. xiii. 380.

[z] Epp. 34-5.

[a] Dupin, Append. 328 (A.D. 401), Tillem. xiii. 348-51

[b] Tillem. vi. 155-60.

[c] Conc. Carthag. A.D. 401 (Patrol. xliii. 801); Aug. c. Crescon. iii. 43; Retract. ii. 27; Tillem. xiii. 390-2.

[d] Aug. Epp. lxxxviii. 6-8; cv. 3-4; c. Crescon. iii. 46. He says that all catholics would be driven out of rural

dential escape from a plot which had been arranged for waylaying him, and other bishops were so cruelly treated that the council of Africa, in 404, found it necessary to petition Honorius that the laws against heretics might be applied to the Donatists.[e] The reports of the outrages which had been committed, and especially the evidence borne by the appearance of some of the sufferers, who presented themselves at the imperial court, provoked severer measures than those which the council had contemplated. The old edicts against the Donatists were revived, and they were sentenced to heavy fines, to forfeiture of their churches, banishment of their bishops and clergy, and confiscation of any lands on which they might attempt to hold their worship.[f] In consequence of this, the church received a large accession of converts, of whom it is probable that some were insincere, and that others, having inherited their Donatism, had until then professed it, not from any personal conviction of its tenets, but merely because they were held in terror by the circumcellions.[g]

Feb. 405.

The law of February 405 was followed by others of like purport.[h] On the death of Stilicho, the Donatists, pretending that these laws were his work and had expired with him,[i] began to resume possession of churches and to renew their acts of violence. But the laws were reinforced by fresh edicts, and such of the sectaries as should molest the catholics were threatened with capital punishment.[k] On this Augustine wrote to the proconsul of Africa, begging that the new law might not be executed to the full; if, he said, Dona-

A.D. 408.

places, were it not that the Donatists of the cities were hostages for them. C. Litt. Petil. ii. 184.

[e] Dupin, App. 332; Aug. c. Cresc. iii. 47, seqq.; Tillem. xiii. 398-401.

[f] Dupin, App. 334-7; Baron. 405. 25; Tillem. xiii. 406-8, 416-17, 992.

[g] Baron. 405. 30-7; Tillem. xiii. 422-3; Walch, iv. 195; Schröckh, xi. 428-9.

[h] See the Cod. Theod. XVI. v.-vi.; or Dupin, App. 339-43.

[i] Aug. Ep. 97.

[k] Dupin, App. 344, seqq.

tism should be punished with death, the catholic clergy, who were the persons best acquainted with the proceedings of the Donatists, and most interested in restraining them, would shrink from giving information against them.[l] In 410, Honorius, alarmed by the pressure of the barbarians, granted a general freedom of religion for Africa; but at the urgent request of the catholics this indulgence was revoked, and banishment and even death were denounced against those who should hold heretical assemblies.[m]

The catholics now entreated the emperor to appoint a conference between the two parties. The request was granted—the willingness of the Donatists being presumed from their language on some former occasions—and Marcellinus, a "tribune and notary" (or secretary of state), was deputed to superintend the discussion.[n] Marcellinus is highly praised for his piety and virtues by Jerome and by Augustine,[o] and their eulogies appear to be justified by the patience, moderation, and judgment which he displayed in the execution of his commission.[p] In the citation addressed to the Donatists, it was said that such of them as might be willing to attend the conference should in the meantime enjoy possession of their churches, with an exemption from all laws against the sect; that, whatever the result of the meeting might be, they should have liberty to return to their homes; but that, if the party should refuse to obey the summons, conformity to the catholic

A.D. 411.

[l] Ep. 100; Schröckh's inferences (xi. 437-9) are unfair to Augustine.

[m] Dupin, Append. 347; Schröckh, xi. 435-6.

[n] Hard. i. 1052, D.; Baron. 410. 49; Tillem. xiii. 499-501. The acts of the conference are in Hardouin, vol. i. (from which the quotations are made), and in the appendix to Optatus. For the latter part of the discussion we have only the abridgment by Augustine ('Breviculus Collationis,' in Patrol. xliii.).

[o] Ep. cli. 8. Augustine inscribed to him some of his books—among them the 'City of God,' which was written at the suggestion of Marcellinus. See n. on De Civ. Dei, i. 1.

[p] Baron. 410. 58; Tillem. xiii. 501-2; Walch, iv. 215; Schrockh, xi. 442-6

church would be forthwith enforced: and Marcellinus offered, if the Donatists objected to him as a judge, to associate with himself any person of equal or superior dignity whom they might choose.[q]

Two hundred and eighty-six catholic bishops were gradually assembled at Carthage. The Donatists made a display of their strength by entering the city in a body, to the number of two hundred and seventy-nine,[r] and asserted, but seemingly without truth, that in their absent brethren they had a majority over the catholics.[s] Their leader was Petilian, bishop of Cirta (or Constantine), who had formerly been eminent as an advocate, and, when a catechumen, had been forcibly baptized into the sect and raised to the episcopate.[t] The catholics announced that, if convinced of the church's failure everywhere but in the Donatistic communion, they would submit without requiring an acknowledgment of their orders; but that, if they should be able to convince their opponents, the Donatist bishops and clergy should be acknowledged as such, and an arrangement should be made for the joint government of the churches.[u] Although the former of these alternatives might have been offered without any risk, the second deserves the praise of a really liberal and conciliatory spirit.

The conference was held on the 1st, the 3rd, and the 8th of June 411. The first day was taken up by formalities—Petilian's forensic skill being employed in raising technical difficulties for the purpose of evading the main subjects of dispute. The commissioner renewed his offer of admitting an assessor; but Petilian answered that, as the Donatists had not asked for the

[q] Hard. i. 1052-3.

[r] Ib. 1111-12.

[s] The catholics are said to have had in all Africa 470 bishops; the Donatists 400 (Schröckh, xi. 443). Augustine charges the sectaries with falsely exaggerating their numbers. Ep. cxli. 1.

[t] Aug. c. Litt. Petil. ii. 239; iii. 19; Tillem. xiii. 330-1, 375.

[u] Aug. Ep. 128; Hard. i. 1057.

first judge, it was not their part to ask for a second.[x] Marcellinus then proposed that each party should choose seven disputants, seven advisers, and four other bishops, who should see to the authenticity of reports and documents; and that, with a view to orderly discussion, no other persons than those representatives, with the secretaries and public officers, should be admitted to the place of conference. To this the Donatists objected, as they supposed themselves to be more numerous than their opponents, and wished to make a visible display of their superiority;[y] but, after the lists of bishops on each side had been recited and carefully verified, the sectaries found it expedient to comply with the proposed arrangement.[z] Between the reading of the two lists, Marcellinus desired the bishops to sit down. To this the leader of the Donatists replied, with an elaborate compliment to the commissioner, that, as our Lord stood before his judge, it was not for them to sit in the presence of so worshipful a person; and, as Marcellinus would not sit while the bishops stood, all parties remained standing throughout the debate.[a] Among the catholic disputants were Aurelius of Carthage, Augustine, his friend Alypius, and his biographer Possidius.[b]

At the next meeting Marcellinus again requested the bishops to seat themselves, whereupon Petilian produced another scriptural authority for refusing—namely, the words of the psalmist, "I will not sit with the wicked."[c] The second day was for the most part wasted in the same manner as the first;[d] but on the third and last day, after fresh attempts at evasion and delay on the part of the Donatists, the real question came into dis-

[x] Hard. i. 1053.
[y] Ib. 1054-6.
[z] Ib. 1061, seqq.; Aug. Brevic. i. 12.
[a] Hard. i. 1093.
[b] Aug. Ep. cxli. 2.
[c] Hard. i. 1115 (Ps. xxvi. 5). The catholics at a later stage took the trouble of answering this. Brevic. iii. 9.
[d] Hard. i. 1115-23.

cussion, and Augustine, who until then had spoken little, stood forward as the leader of the catholics. It is noted as characteristic that, when he styled the Donatists "brethren," Petilian protested against the term as injurious.[e] Each party wished to throw on the other the burden of opening the case: the Donatists said that the catholics were bound to do so, as having demanded the conference; the catholics, that the Donatists were the accusers of the church, and therefore ought to state their charges.[f] When Augustine entered on the history of the separation, the Donatists objected, and said that the matter ought to be determined by Scripture: to which the catholics replied that they were willing to confine themselves to Scripture if their opponents would refrain from personal charges; but that, if Cæcilian and others were attacked, the documents necessary for their justification must be admitted.[g] Marcellinus decided that the acts relating to the commencement of the schism should be read;[h] and eventually both the doctrinal question of the church's purity and the historical question as to the origin of Donatism were discussed.[i] The documents produced by the Donatists were shown to bear against their own cause;[k] for it would seem that the sect had forgotten all such parts of its history as were unfavourable to it.[l] They were at length forced to avow that they did not suppose the whole church to be limited to their own body in Africa, but only denied that their African opponents were in communion with the catholic churches beyond the seas.[m] Marcellinus ended the conference by

[e] Hard. i. 1120; Aug. ad Don. post Collat. 58.

[f] Hard. i. 1146, seqq.

[g] Brevic. iii. 6.

[h] Hard. i. 1175.

[i] Brevic. iii. 8, seqq.

[k] Ib. 13-14, 20-3.

[l] For example, the sectaries had kept no record of the Synod of Cirta (vol. i. p. 269). Aug. Ep. lxiii.

[m] Hard. i. 1159. Some Donatists interpreted the word *catholic* as meaning the universal observance of the Divine precepts and of the sacraments. Ib.; Aug. Ep. xciii. 23.

giving judgment against the Donatists. The promise of a safe conduct homewards was to be fulfilled to them, and a certain time was allowed, during which they might join the church on the terms which the catholics had offered; but in case of their refusal the penal statutes against them were to be revived.[n]

It is evident that, if a power of supreme ecclesiastical jurisdiction had then been supposed to exist in the see of Rome, an affair such as that of the Donatists would not have been intrusted to a lay imperial commissioner.[o] But on the other hand, the commission given to Marcellinus does not imply such a right or claim of jurisdiction on the part of the civil power as might perhaps be supposed if the circumstance stood by itself. The Donatistic controversy had arisen at the very time when Constantine began to show favour to the Christians; it was originally carried before the emperor by the sectaries; although doctrinal discussions as to the being of the church were afterwards introduced into it, it was at first merely a question of disputed facts; and it had continued to engage the attention of the emperors, not in its doctrinal aspect, but because the disorders of the circumcellions disturbed the peace of Africa. Thus it had been throughout regarded as especially belonging to the imperial cognizance, and the appointment of Marcellinus was a consequence of that view. Indeed, the arbitration which was urgently needed could not well have been obtained from ecclesiastical authority; since all the Africans were parties in the case, and there were difficulties, perhaps insuperable, in the way of referring it to a synod beyond the seas, while a reference to the bishop of Rome does not appear to have been thought of as an expedient which could be admitted to decide the question.[p]

[n] Hard. i. 1190. [o] Mosh. i. 476.
[p] Walch, iv. 229; Schröckh, xi. 449-51. See n. in Fleury, ii. 103-4.

The Donatists asserted that they had been victorious in argument at the conference, and that Marcellinus was bribed by their opponents.[q] They appealed to the emperor; but Honorius, without regarding the appeal, confirmed his commissioner's judgment, and in the following year enacted severe penalties against the sect. All who should refuse to conform to the church were to be heavily fined, in proportion to their rank, and in case of continued obstinacy they were to forfeit all their property. Slaves and peasants[r] were to be beaten into conformity, and their masters, if they neglected to act on this order, were, "although catholics," to be liable to the penalties of Donatism. It was forbidden to harbour the sectaries; their bishops and clergy were to be banished, and the buildings and estates belonging to the body were to be confiscated.[s] By another law, two years later, the penalties of the former were increased; the Donatists were deprived of the right of bequeathing property, and were subjected to a sort of civil excommunication.[t] The African councils, however, still held out offers of conciliation, and the clergy, although they did not deny that such laws were justifiable, urged that the execution of them might be forborne or mitigated.[u] In consequence of the measures of the govern-

A.D. 412.

A.D. 414.

[q] Aug. Ep. cxli. 1; ad Donatistas post Collationem (a tract written to counteract the boasts of the sect), 16, 39, 57. Marcellinus was executed in 414 by Count Marinus, on false charges of treason. It has been supposed that Marinus was instigated by the Donatists, and hence Marcellinus has been styled a martyr (Acta SS., Apr. 6, p. 450; Baron. 413. 5; Tillem. xiii. 612-17); but Walch (iv. 226-8) and Schröckh (xi. 457) consider that there is no ground for the belief.

[r] "Coloni."

[s] Dupin, Append. 506-7.

[t] Ib. 509.

[u] Aug. Epp. 133-4, 139; Tillem. xiii. 589, 740-2. Augustine had been against all use of force in behalf of religion; but about 408 he changed his opinion, in consequence of the apparent good results of the penal laws (Retract. ii. 5; Ep. xciii. 1-2), although he was still adverse to the infliction of death. "We must not," he says, "consider that one is compelled, but what sort of thing that is to which he is compelled—whether good or evil. Not

ment some Donatists were brought into the church, while others were driven to the frenzy of desperation. Their outrages became more violent than ever. Many committed suicide, which they supposed to be an expiation for all their sins;[x] and to threaten it was a favourite expedient when they found themselves pressed by the catholics.[y] Gaudentius, a bishop, who had been one of the disputants at the conference, declared that, if he were forcibly required to join the catholic communion, he would shut himself up in a church with his adherents, set it on fire, and perish in the flames.[z] It was against this zealot that Augustine wrote his last works in the Donatistic controversy, about the year 420.[a]

Little is known of the Donatists after this time, although they were still occasionally noticed in imperial edicts.[b] Under the Vandals their position was improved, but the sect soon dwindled into insignificance. Some remains of it, however, existed in the time of Gregory the Great, and it is supposed that it was not extinguished until the Saracenic invasion of Africa in the seventh century.[c]

III. The Pelagian controversy was that as to which

that a man can be good against his will; but through fear of that which he does not wish to suffer, he either abandons the passion which hindered him, or is forced to discern the truth of which he was ignorant; so that, in fear, he either rejects the falsehood for which he contended, or seeks the truth which he knew not, and now willingly holds that which he once disliked" (Ep. cxiii. 16). He adds that at Hippo and in other towns the inhabitants had been converted to the church by the penal laws (17). For the propriety of such measures he alleged the text, "Compel them to come in." (Luc. xiv. 23.) See Ep. clxxxv. 25; Pagi, v. 554; Neand. iii. 303-7; Giesel. I. ii. 318-19; Bind. iii. 282-92; and especially Limborch, 'Hist. Inquisitionis,' l. i. c. 6.

[x] Aug. c. Gaudent. i. 46.

[y] "Quantum cupiamus vos vivere," says Augustine to the sectaries, "ipsi scitis; ideo nos de vestra morte terretis." Ib. 41.

[z] Ib. 1.

[a] One of the arguments is curious. "You complain" (says Augustine to the Donatists) "that you have no place to flee unto. But, since Christ said, 'When they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another,' it appears that His people must always have a place to flee to, and therefore that you cannot be His." Ib. 19.

[b] See the Appendix to Optatus.

[c] Tillem. vi. 192-3; Walch, iv. 229-31.

Augustine exercised the most powerful influence on his own age, and which has chiefly made his authority important throughout the succeeding times.[d] The differences as to doctrine which had hitherto agitated the church originated in the east, and related to the Godhead; one was now to arise in the west, which had for its subject the nature of man and his relations to God. On these points there had as yet been no precise definitions; but it had been generally acknowledged that the nature of man was seriously injured by the fall of Adam, and needed the assistance of Divine grace.[e] In the western church, from the time of Tertullian, it was declared that Adam had transmitted to his posterity an inheritance of sinfulness;[f] but the Latin teachers, as well as those of the east, had maintained that the will was free to choose good or evil, to receive or to reject salvation.[g] Augustine himself, in his earlier writings after his conversion, maintained against the Manichæans the freedom of the will in preparing man for the reception of grace. Faith (he said) depends on man, although works are of God's grace; the Divine election is spoken of by St. Paul (Rom. ix.) as opposed to a foundation of works—not to a foundation of faith; and if there were no freedom, there could be no responsibility.[h] As early as 397, however, he had come to regard faith also as an effect of Divine grace; and it would be more correct to describe Pelagianism as a reaction from Augustine's

[d] The tracts and documents relating to this controversy form vol. x. of the Benedictine edition, and of Migne's reprint (Patrol. xliv.-v.).

[e] See Wiggers, i. 407, seqq.; Blunt on the Fathers, ser. II. lect. xiii. sec. 2.

[f] See vol. i. p. 233; Comp. Schröckh, xiv. 387; Wiggers, i. 430, seqq.

[g] Ib. 410; Neand. iv. 283-5; Giesel. I. ii. 107; vi. 338; Hagenb. i. 293-6.

[h] *E.g.* De Lib. Arbitr. ii. 2; Expos. Propositionum ex Ep. ad Rom. 60 (Patrol. xxxv. 2079); c. Faust. xxii. 78. See Retract. i. 9; Wiggers, i. 133. He acknowledges his change of opinion (De Prædest. Sanctorum, 7), but was able to point to works which showed that he had maintained his later doctrine as to grace before Pelagianism emerged. De Dono Persev. 52-3.

doctrine than to invert this order, although Pelagianism became the occasion by which Augustine was urged to carry out his system into precision and completeness.[i]

Pelagius was a Briton—the first native of our island who distinguished himself in literature or theology. His Greek or Latin name is traditionally said to be a translation of the British *Morgan*—sea-born.[k] He is described as a monk,[l] and it has been supposed that he belonged to the great monastery of Bangor; but the term most probably means only that he lived ascetically, without implying that he was a member of any monastic community.[m] From his acquaintance with the Greek ecclesiastical writers it is inferred that he had resided in the east; and he has been identified by some with a monk of the same name who is mentioned in one of Chrysostom's letters.[n] About the end of the fourth century he took up his abode at Rome, where he became intimate with Paulinus of Nola and other persons of saintly reputation.[o] Jerome in controversy expresses contempt for his abilities, and represents his habits as luxurious; but such aspersions are matters of course with Jerome, and, although Orosius also charges Pelagius with luxury and excess,[p] we may rather rely on the testimony of Augustine, who always spoke with high respect of his adversary's character for piety and virtue.[q] In his tone of thought Pelagius was rather oriental than western.[r] The course of his

Neand. iv. 298; Giesel. I. ii. 116-17; Ritter, vi. 180; Mozley on Predestination, 380-1.

[k] See Prosper de Ingratis, 2; Præf. ad Aug. t. x. 9; Walch, iv. 534-5. Mr. Algernon Herbert supposes him of Roman parentage, though of British birth. Cyclops Christianus, 77.

[l] Aug. de Gestis Pelag. 36.

[m] Præf. ad Aug. x. 9; Walch, iv. 536; Wiggers, i. 34.

[n] See Præf. ad Aug. x. 10; Wiggers, i. 36. Chrysostom laments that this Pelagius, of whose character he speaks highly, had been led astray—*i.e.* that he had deserted the archbishop's party Ep. 4, t. iii. p. 577.

[o] Aug. de Gestis Pel. 50, 53; Præf. 11.

[p] De Arbitr. Libertate, 16, 31 (Patrol. xxxi.).

[q] As De Peccat. Mer. et Rem. iii 1; Ep. clxxxvi. 1.

[r] Neand. iv 299

religious life appears to have been steady—in striking contrast to the fierce agitations by which Augustine had been made to pass through so great a variety of experiences. His indignation was raised by the manner in which many persons alleged the weakness of human nature as an excuse for carelessness or slothfulness in religion; in opposition to this he insisted on the freedom of the will; and he is said to have expressed great displeasure at hearing a bishop repeat a well-known prayer of Augustine—"Give what Thou commandest, and command what Thou wilt."[s] But, although he found adherents at Rome, both his age, which was already advanced, and his temper disinclined Pelagius from any public declaration of his opinions.[t] In one of his works—an exposition of St. Paul's epistles, which has escaped the general fate of heretical books by being included through mistake among the writings of his enemy Jerome—there are many indications of his errors; but the objectionable opinions are there introduced in the way of discussion—not as if they were the author's own.[u]

At Rome Pelagius became acquainted with Celestius, who, from an expression of Jerome,[x] has been supposed to have been a Scot—*i.e.* a native of Ireland. Celestius was a man of family, had practised as an advocate, and had forsaken that profession for an ascetic life.[y] Whether

[s] Confess. x. 29. This is stated by St. Augustine himself, 'De Dono Perseverantiæ,' 53. Neand. iv. 300-8.

[t] Tillem. xiii. 562; Walch, iv. 570.

[u] See Hieron. t. xi.; Mar. Merc. Commonit. ii. (Patrol. lxviii.); Aug. de Pecc. Meritis et Remiss. iii. 6; Præf. in t. x. 14. The authorship has been questioned, but the book is now generally acknowledged to be by Pelagius, although not free from alterations. Walch, iv. 550-1.

[x] "Scotorum pultibus prægravatus" (Hieron. Prolog. in Jerem. t. iv. 682), which has been translated "made fat with Scotch flummery" (Stillingfleet, 268), or "having his belly filled, and his head bedulled, with Scotch porridge" (Wall, Hist. of Infant Baptism, i. 354, ed. Oxf. 1836). But others apply the words to Pelagius, and suppose that Celestius was an Italian. See Stillingfleet, 267-8; Pagi, vi. 600, 623; Walch, iv. 560; Schröckh, xiv. 364; Lanigan, i. 16; Quart. Rev. xciii. 19-20 (June, 1853); Todd's 'St. Patrick,' 190-1.

[y] Mar. Mercator, Lib. Subnotationum, Præf. 4.

he learnt his opinions from Pelagius, or had adopted them from another teacher before the beginning of his acquaintance with Pelagius, is doubtful. Jerome bestows his customary abuse on Celestius; Augustine describes him as bolder and less crafty than his associate.[z]

After the sack of Rome, the two friends passed into Africa, where Pelagius remained but a short time; and it does not appear that after this separation they ever met again, or even corresponded with each other.[a] Celestius endeavoured to obtain ordination as a presbyter at Carthage, but was charged with heresy by Paulinus, who had formerly been a deacon of the Milanese church, and is known to us as the biographer of its great bishop.[b] The matter was examined by a synod, before which Celestius was accused of holding that Adam would have died even if he had not sinned; that his sin did not injure any but himself; that infants are born in the same condition in which Adam originally was; that neither do all mankind die in Adam nor do they rise again in Christ; that infants, although unbaptized, have eternal life; that the law admitted to the kingdom of heaven even as the gospel does; and that before our Lord's coming there were men without sin.[c] He defended himself by saying that he allowed the necessity of infant baptism;[d] that the propositions generally, whether true or not, related to matters of speculation on which the church had given no decision; and that consequently they could not be heretical. The council, however, condemned and excommunicated him, whereupon he appealed to the bishop of

A.D. 410.

A.D. 412.

[z] "Ille apertior, iste occultior fuit; ille pertinacior, iste mendacior; vel certe ille liberior, hic astutior." De Pecc. Orig. 13.

[a] Wiggers, i. 41.

[b] Mar. Merc. Common. 1; Præf. in Aug. t. x. 18-19.

[c] Aug. de Pecc. Orig. 26; Baron. 412. 20, seqq., with Pagi's notes; Tillem. xiii. 571-4.

[d] See Aug. de Pecc. Mer. et Rem. 64.

Rome. No attention was paid to this appeal—the first which is recorded as having been made to Rome from another province; and Celestius, without attempting to prosecute it, left Carthage for Ephesus.[e] Augustine was now drawn into the controversy. Although he tells us that he had occasionally seen Pelagius while at Carthage, it would seem that the two had not held any discussion, as the catholic bishops were then engrossed by preparations for their conference with the Donatists; nor had Augustine been present at the synod which condemned Celestius. But the progress of the new opinions soon drew his attention. He was induced to compose two tracts against them for the satisfaction of Count Marcellinus; and at the request of the bishop, Aurelius, he preached in opposition to them at Carthage.[f]

In the meantime, Pelagius, expecting to find the east more favourable to his opinions than Africa, had taken up his abode in the Holy Land. He was at first on friendly terms with Jerome; but disagreements soon arose between them, and Jerome became his vehement opponent.[g] Augustine, little acquainted with the Greek writers, had spoken of the Pelagian opinions as novelties of which there had been no example either among catholics or among heretics;[h] but Jerome traced them to the hated school of Origen and Rufinus.[i]

[e] Aug. Ep. clvii. 22; Mar. Merc. Common. i. 2; Schröckh, xiv. 368-9; Wiggers, i. 189.

[f] De Gestis Pelag. 25-46; De Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione; De Spiritu et Littera; Serm. 293-4; Præf. in t. x. 21-4.

[g] Hieron. Ep. 133; Dialogi c. Pelagianos; Neander, iv. 311-12; Giesel. I. ii. 109-10.

[h] De Hæresibus, 88 init.; Wiggers, i. 404.

[i] Ep. cxxxiii. 3; in Jerem. l. iv. init. It has been said that both Pelagius and Celestius learned their doctrines from Rufinus, and that Rufinus had derived them from Theodore of Mopsuestia, who will be more particularly mentioned in the next chapter. (Mar. Merc. Præf. in Lib. Subnot.) Celestius himself mentions that he had heard "the holy presbyter Rufinus" deny original sin (ap. Aug. de Pecc. Orig. 3); but it does not follow that he had drawn his opinions from Rufinus, and the doubt is still stronger as to Pelagius. It is also questioned whether this Rufinus were the Aquileian. Marius Mercator

Soon after his settlement in Palestine, Pelagius received an application which may be regarded as an evidence of the high reputation which he had attained—an urgent request from the mother of Demetrias, that he would write to her daughter on the occasion of her professing virginity; and in consequence of this he addressed a letter to Demetrias. He tells her that it is his practice in such matters to begin by laying down what human nature can do, lest, from an insufficient conception of its powers, too low a standard of duty and exertion should be taken;[k] for, he says, men are careless in proportion as they think meanly of themselves, and for this reason it is that Scripture so often endeavours to animate us by styling us sons of God.[l] The powers of man, like the faculties and instincts of all creatures, are God's gifts. Instead of thinking, with the vulgar, that the power of doing evil is a defect in man—instead of reproaching the Creator, as if He had made man evil—we ought rather to regard the enjoyment of free-will as a special dignity and prerogative of our nature.[m] He dwells on the virtues of those who had lived before the Saviour's coming, and declares the conscience, which approves or reproves our actions, to be, "so to speak, a sort of natural holiness in our souls."[n] In this letter Pelagius shows an earnest zeal for practical religion, with a keen discernment of the deceits which might arise on the one hand from an abuse of the doctrine of grace, and on the other hand from a reliance on formal exercises. But his

styles him "*natione* Syrus" (Præf. in Lib. Subnot. 2), which seems to indicate a different person, although Wiggers (i. 38), interprets the words as referring to the Aquileian's long residence in the east. See Præf. in Aug. x. 15; Pagi, vi. 507-9, 597-600; Tillem. xii. 562-9; Fleury, xxiii. 1; Walch, iv. 538-40; Schröckh, xiv. 336, 408; Giesel. I. ii. 109; Möller, in Herzog. xi. 271.

[k] Ep. ad Demetr. (Patrol. xxx. 15, seqq.) c. 2. (See above, p. 18.)

[l] Ib. 19

[m] Ib. 2-3. It will be seen that, in representing the opinions of his opponents, Pelagius confounds between man's nature and the corruption of it.

[n] Ib. 4, seqq.

peculiar tenets appear strongly; and perhaps the most remarkable feature in the letter is the evidence which it contains that the monastic idea of sanctity very readily fell in with the errors which have become distinguished by the writer's name.

In July 415 Pelagius was charged with heresy before John, bishop of Jerusalem, and a synod of his clergy, by Orosius, a young Spanish presbyter, who had lately come into the Holy Land with a recommendation from Augustine to Jerome.[o] The accuser related the proceedings which had taken place at Carthage, and read a letter from Augustine. On this Pelagius asked, "What is Augustine to me?" but was rebuked for speaking so disrespectfully of a great bishop, by whom unity had been restored to the church of Africa. John, however, was inclined to befriend him; he invited him, although a layman, to take his seat among the presbyters, and exerted himself to put a favourable construction on his words. When Pelagius was accused of holding that men could live without sin, the bishop said that there was scriptural warrant for the doctrine, and cited the instance of Zacharias and Elisabeth, with others equally irrelevant; and, on receiving from Pelagius an acknowledgment that divine grace was necessary in order to living without sin, his judges were satisfied.[p] Pelagius, in truth, used the term *grace* in such a manner that his professions sounded orthodox; while he really meant by it nothing more than the outward means employed by God for instruction and encouragement in righteousness—not an inward work of the Holy Spirit, influencing the heart.[q]

[o] Aug. Ep. clxvi. 2; Pagi, vii. 51; Tillem. xii. 326; xiii. 668; Am. Thierry, S. Jérome, ii. 222, seqq.

[p] Aug. de Gestis Pel. 22; Oros. de Arbitrii Libertate, 3-6 (Patrol. xxxvi.).

[q] See below, p. 155. Dr. Mozley suggests that in this he may have acted, not from duplicity, but from a real wish not to advance beyond his original statements. 'Augustinian Doctrine of Predestination,' 60.

The inquiry was carried on under the difficulties that Orosius could not speak Greek, that the members of the council understood no Latin, and that the interpreter was either incapable or unfaithful; while Pelagius, being familiar with the languages and with the doctrinal peculiarities of both east and west, had an advantage over his accuser and his judges. Orosius therefore proposed that, as the question was one of Latin theology, and as the parties were Latins, it should be referred to the bishop of Rome; and to this John agreed—ordering Pelagius in the meantime to abstain from publishing his opinions, and his opponents to refrain from molesting him.[r] It need hardly be observed that the reference to Rome involved no acknowledgment of the later Roman pretensions, but was merely a resort from judges unacquainted with the doctrines of the western church to a more competent tribunal—that of the highest bishop of the west.[s]

In the end of the same year, two Gaulish bishops, Heros of Arles and Lazarus of Aix, brought an accusation against Pelagius before Eulogius, metropolitan of Cæsarea, who thereupon summoned a synod of fourteen bishops to Diospolis (the ancient Lydda).[t] When, however, this assembly met, one of the accusers was sick, and the other excused himself on account of his companion's illness; so that, as Orosius did not again appear, Pelagius was left to make good his cause without opposition. He disavowed some of the opinions

A.D. 415, December.

[r] Oros. de Arb. Libert. 6.

[s] Walch, iv. 591; Schröckh, xiv. 425.

[t] For this synod, see Aug. de Gestis Pelagii, 2, seqq. It does not appear for what purpose Heros and Lazarus had gone into Palestine. Many writers speak of them as at this time deposed; but such does not seem to have been the case. Zosimus of Rome, in 417, says that they had got their bishopricks irregularly; that they had abdicated them from a consciousness of this, and that *he* had *then* deposed them. Ep. ii. 4 (Patrol. xx. 651). Comp. Prosper, Chron. (ib. . 590); Pagi, vii. 53; Tillem. xiii. 681, 720; Præf. in Aug. t. x. 40; Walch iv. 598: Ellendorf, ii. 92-3.

which were imputed to him, and explained others (or explained them away) in a manner which the council admitted as satisfactory. The acts of the Carthaginian synod were read; whereupon Pelagius declined entering into the question whether Celestius held the doctrines there censured, but declared that he himself had never held them.[u] And on being desired to anathematize the holders of these and other errors of which he had been suspected, he consented—professing, however, that he condemned them, not as heretics, but as fools.[x] The council, little versed in western questions, and desirous to act with moderation, acknowledged the orthodoxy of the accused. For this Jerome[y] stigmatized it as a "miserable synod." Augustine, however, spoke of it more respectfully, and expressed his satisfaction that, although from defective information it had allowed Pelagius to escape, it had yet condemned his errors.[z]

Pelagius was much elated by the result of this inquiry. In a book which he sent forth on the Freedom of the Will,[a] and in his letters, he referred triumphantly to his acquittal by the bishops of Palestine; and he sent Augustine some documents which gave a partial representation of the affair.[b] Augustine, however, was soon after furnished with more complete information by Orosius, who returned to Africa with a collection of

[u] Aug. de Gest. Pel. 30. [x] Ib. 18.

[y] Ep. 143. Some Pelagians, in their triumph, attacked the monasteries of Bethlehem, burnt a part of the buildings, killed a deacon, handled Eustochium and her niece, the younger Paula, roughly, and drove Jerome, who was then in extreme old age, to take refuge in a tower. (Aug. de G. Pel. 60; Innocent. ap. Hier. Ep. 136-7.) M. Guizot (i. 383) is inclined to question whether these outrages were the work of Pelagians.

[z] De Gest. Pel. 45 65; Præf. in t. x. 46; Baron. 315, with Pagi's notes; Tillem. xiii. 683-4; Walch, iv. 609-14; Schröckh, xiv. 435-44; Neand. vi. 317. Marius Mercator says that Pelagius was condemned by a synod under Theodotus, bishop of Antioch (Common. iii. 5), which Garnier would date in 417 (Patrol. xlviii. 344). But, as Wiggers observes, if such a synod had been really held, Augustine would hardly have failed to mention it. i. 326. Aug. Ep. clxxxvi. 34.

[a] Præf. in t. x. 47; De Gestis Pel. 1, 54, 57.

papers on the subject; and synods were held there, which condemned Pelagius and Celestius. The African bishops wrote to Innocent, bishop of Rome, requesting that he would join in the sentence — apparently from a fear lest the Pelagian party at Rome should contrive to secure his favour by pressing on him the judgment of the eastern council.[c] An application of this kind could hardly fail to be welcome to Innocent, and he readily complied with the request, taking occasion to accompany his consent with much swelling language about the dignity of his see. But, however desirous the Africans may have been to fortify themselves by the alliance of Rome, they throughout the affair treated with the Roman bishops on a footing of perfect equality.[d]

A.D. 416.

Jan. 27, 417.

Innocent died soon after, and was succeeded by Zosimus, who, as being a Greek,[e] was disposed to look favourably on the suspected teachers. Celestius, who had been ordained at Ephesus, appeared again at Rome, where he made a profession of orthodoxy, and requested that his case might be once more examined, declaring that any speculations which he might have vented did not concern the faith.[f] About the same time Zosimus received two letters addressed to his predecessor—the one in favour of Pelagius, from Praylius, who had lately succeeded to the bishoprick of Jerusalem; the other from Pelagius himself, artfully vindicating his orthodoxy and stating his belief.[g] By these letters, and by the personal communications of Celestius, Zosimus was won over, and after having held a council, at which Celestius disavowed all doctrines

March 12, 417.

[c] Aug. Epp. 175-7; Tillem. xiii. 635-8, 690-2; Walch, iv. 615-25.

[d] Innoc. ap. Aug. Epp. 181-3; Tillem. xiii. 701-2; Neand. iv. 319-20.

[e] Baron. 417. 17, and Pagi's note.

[f] Cœlest. ap. Mar. Merc., Patrol. xlviii. 498.

[g] Ib. 488, seqq.; Aug. de Pecc. Orig. ii. 19; Walch, iv. 639-40.

which the apostolic see had condemned,[h] he wrote a letter of reproof to the Africans. He blamed them for having too readily listened to charges against men whose lives had always been correct, and for having exceeded the bounds of theological determination in their synods; he spoke strongly against the characters of Heros and Lazarus, whom he declared to be deposed from their sees;[i] he stated that Celestius made frequent mention of grace; and he required that either the accusers should appear at Rome within two months, or the charges against Pelagius and Celestius should be abandoned.[k] Paulinus, the original accuser, refused to obey this summons. Aurelius, with two synods (the second consisting of two hundred and fourteen bishops), replied that the condemnation which they had passed must stand until the objects of it should have clearly retracted their errors. The African bishops asserted their independence of Rome; and a "plenary" African synod, of more than two hundred bishops, passed nine canons, which were afterwards generally accepted throughout the church, and came to be regarded as the most important bulwark against Pelagianism.[l] These canons the council forwarded to Rome, telling Zosimus that he himself had been hasty in his credulity, and exposing the artifices by which Celestius had disguised his errors.[m] From this time Augustine

May 1, 418.

[h] Aug. de Pecc. Orig. 19, 24; ad Bonif. ii. 5.

[i] Historians speak favourably of the two bishops: the displeasure of Zosimus against them is ascribed by some to the influence of Celestius, and by others to the misrepresentations of Proculus, who had supplanted Heros in the see of Arles. There were then great contests among the bishops of Gaul as to precedence and jurisdiction. See Prosper, Chron. A.D. 415; Baron. 417. 23; Pagi, vii. 103; Garnier, n. in Mar. Merc. Common. i. 5; Tillem. x. 692; Hist. Litt. ii. 147-52, Schröckh, viii. 447-52.

[k] Ep. ii. (Patrol. xx.); Præf. in Aug. t. x. c. 15. Baronius (417. 39) is amusing on the subject of the Pope receiving Celestius.

[l] Aug. t. x. 63-8; 1723-30; Tillem. xiii. 730; Walch, iv. 655-60; Schröckh, xv. 25-7.

[m] Aug. ad Bonif. ii. 5; Prosper c. Collatorem, v. 3; Tillem. xiii. 730-1.

spoke of the Pelagians no longer as brethren, but as heretics.[n]

The civil power had now mixed in the controversy, probably at the solicitation of the Africans. An imperial rescript was issued, by which, after strong denunciation of Pelagius and Celestius, it was ordered that, if at Rome, they should be expelled; that persons suspected of holding their opinions should be carried before the magistrates, and, in case of conviction, should be banished.[o] Zosimus, pressed by the court and by the anti-Pelagian party in his own city, found it expedient to change his tone. He professed an intention of re-examining the matter, and cited Celestius to appear before a council; whereupon Celestius fled from Rome.[p] Zosimus then condemned the two heresiarchs, declaring that they might be re-admitted to the church as penitents on anathematizing the doctrines imputed to them, but that otherwise they were absolutely and for ever excluded; he issued a circular letter, adopting the African decisions, and he required that this document should be subscribed by all bishops as a test of orthodoxy.[q] April 30, 418.

Nineteen Italian bishops refused, and were deposed.[r] The most noted among them was Julian of Eclanum, a

[n] Wiggers, i. 220.

[o] Aug. x. 1726. Baronius (418. 19, 23), and other zealous Romanists attempt, very improbably, to maintain that this rescript was solicited by Zosimus. It was earlier than the "plenary" African synod of 418. but was probably the result of an application from another African synod, held in the beginning of that year. See Pagi, vii. 117; Tillem. xiii. 743-4; Walch, iv. 660, 670; Wiggers, i. 212; Giesel. I. ii. 112.

[p] Mar. Merc. Comm. i. 5.

[q] The existing fragments of the circular letter are in Patrol. xx. 673-5. For the title given to it—*tractoria*—see Garnier, in Mar. Merc. Commonit. iii. 1. On the perplexities caused to Romish writers by the behaviour of Zosimus, see Schröckh, xv. 34-6, who remarks that neither the Africans nor the emperor show any idea of Roman supremacy.

[r] A paper supposed by Garnier and others to be their profession of faith (Patrol. xlviii. p. 509) is wrongly ascribed to them. See Schönemann, ib. xxi. 1169. Some of them soon after sued for restoration. See Mar. Merc. Common. iii. 1.

small town near Beneventum, who from this time became the leading controversialist on the Pelagian side. Julian was son of a bishop named Memorius, who was on terms of friendship with Augustine ;[s] he had married Ia, the daughter of a bishop, and the union had been graced with a nuptial poem by Paulinus of Nola :[t] and it was perhaps before his deposition that he obtained reputation and influence by giving all that he possessed to the poor during a famine.[u] Julian is described as a man of learning and acuteness, but too confident, and of endless diffuseness and pertinacity as a writer.[x] The founders of the heresy, wishing to remain within the catholic communion, had studied to veil their errors under plausible language, and to represent the points in question as belonging not to theology but to philosophy. But Julian, with an impetuosity which Augustine ascribes to youth,[y] disdained to follow such courses : he accused his own party of cowardice ; he taxed the catholics with Manichæism ;[z] he refused to accept any doctrine as scriptural which did not agree with his own views of reason,[a] and declared that the very essence of Christianity was at stake,—that the God of the "traducianists"[b]

[s] See Aug. Ep. 101 ; c. Julian. Pelag. i. 12 ; Mar. Merc. Lib. Subnot. iv. 4 ; Præf. in Opus Imperf. t. x. 10, 35.

[t] Poëma 25 (Patrol. lxi.).

[u] The authority for this act is Gennadius, De Script. Eccles. 45 (Patrol. lviii.) ; but he does not mark the time, and some writers (as Dean Milman, Lat. Christ. i. 122) place it shortly before Julian's death. See the preface to Opus Imperf. col. 1040.

[x] Mar. Merc. Præf. in Lib. Subnot. ; Baron. 419. 4, seqq., with Pagi's notes ; Tillem. xiii. 750-2, 814, 821 ; Walch, iv. 702-4 ; Schröckh, xv. 37-9.

[y] C. Jul. i. 34-5.

[z] Aug. ad Bonif. i. 4 ; de Nuptiis et Concup. ii. 9 ; c. Julian. i. 36, seqq. ; Opus Imperf. i. 85-96 ; vi. 14, &c.

[a] Jul. ap. Aug. Op. Imp. ii. 53 ; iv. 136 ; vi. 41.

[b] A question as old as Origen and Tertullian—whether souls were derived by traduction or created—was revived by the controversy. Augustine, however, was not really a traducianist, as his opponents said ; for, although he inclined to that view (Wiggers, i. 149, 348-53) he would not pronounce on the question. "Quelle est donc, en définitive, l'opinion d'Augustin sur l'origine et l'incarnation de l'âme? Il n'en a pas," says M. Ferraz, 'De la Psychologie de S. Aug.', 36, Paris, 1862. See Aug. Epp. 143, 166 ; de Pecc. Merit. et Rem. ii. 59 ; de

(as he styled those who held that sin was derived by inheritance) was not the God of the gospel, inasmuch as the character ascribed to him was inconsistent with the divine attribute of justice.[c]

The Pelagians attempted to procure an examination of their case by a general council; whereupon Augustine told them that the matter had already been sufficiently investigated, and that the cry for a general council was only a proof of their self-importance.[d] They repeatedly endeavoured to obtain a reversal of the Roman decisions; they applied for an acknowledgment of their orthodoxy at Constantinople, Ephesus, Thessalonica, and elsewhere, and endeavoured to bespeak the sympathy of the Greeks by representing the catholics as Manichæans.[e] But their exertions were all in vain; both ecclesiastical judgments and edicts of the secular power were directed against them.[f] Theodore, bishop of Mopsuestia—although he has been regarded as even the originator of the heresy[g]—although he had written against Augustine's views,[h] and had sheltered Julian when banished from Italy—is said to have taken the lead in anathematizing the Pelagian tenets at a Cilician synod in 423;[i] and they were condemned by the

Anima et ejus Origine, i., iv.; Nat. Alex. ix. 256; Giesel. vi. 336, 345; Neand. iv. 352; Ritter, vi. 369.

[c] Jul. ap. Aug. Op. Imperf. i. 27-32, 50; Neand. iv. 328-30, 336-7.

[d] Ad Bonif. iv. 33.

[e] Ib. i. 3-4; ii. 1, 3. The Greek historians do not even notice the Pelagian controversies. Wiggers, i. 324.

[f] Hard. i. 1231-4; Aug. t. x., Appendix; Ep. 201; Mar. Merc. Comm. i. 8; Lib. Subnot. iv. 4, 12, &c.; Præf. in Aug. Op. Imp. x. 1042; Pagi, vii. 231, seqq.; Tillem. xiii. 754-6; xiv. 154, 304-7, 353; Wiggers, i. 283-5, 328.

[g] Mar. Merc. Præf. in Lib. Subnot.; Photius, Biblioth. Cod. 177. See Dorner, ii. 38-9.

[h] See Wiggers, i. 326.

[i] Mar. Merc. Præf. in Symb. Theod. (Patrol. xlviii. 216). See Tillem. xiii. 569, 756-7, 817-19; Walch, iv. 683; Schröckh, xv. 92-3, 186. Perhaps Theodore, after having taken up Pelagianism, as opposed to the new views set forth by Augustine, may have discovered that it differed widely from his own system. While Pelagianism allowed no place for a Redeemer, redemption was an essential point with Theodore; but he differed from the western teachers in viewing it rather as an exaltation than as a restoration. Neand. iv. 411, 416.

general council of Ephesus in 431 [k]—perhaps the more heartily because the party had been leniently treated by Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople, who was the chief object of the council's censure.[l]

Pelagius himself disappears from history after the year 418, and, as he was far advanced in life, may be supposed to have died about that time. Nothing is known with certainty as to the end of Celestius and Julian.[m] The founders of Pelagianism had made no attempt to form congregations separate from the church; and although Julian, in the heat of his animosity, had declared against communicating with those whom he branded as Manichæans, he found it impossible to establish a communion of his own.[n] Pelagianism, therefore, never became the badge of a sect, although its adherents, when detected, were excluded from the orthodox communion.[o]

The fundamental question between Pelagius and his opponents related to the idea of Free-Will. By this term, Pelagius understood an unbiassed power of choosing between good and evil; and such a faculty he maintained that man has, since the power of choice is essen-

[k] Hard. i. 1496.

[l] Walch, iv. 684-8. Marius Mercator, a layman, probably from Africa, who was the chief opponent of the Pelagians at Constantinople, says that Nestorius, although himself sound as to the points in question, promised to restore Julian of Eclanum to communion, and wrote a consolatory letter to Celestius. (Præf. in Nest. Tract. Patrol. xlviii. 184.) Wiggers supposes that the condemnation of Pelagius was decreed by the orientals in consideration of the aid which Celestine of Rome gave them against Nestorius (i. 329-31). For the affinities and traces of connexion between the school of Antioch and the Pelagians, see Dorner, ii. 60-1. Tillemont says that, as the Pelagians had wished for a general council, they *no doubt* attended at Ephesus (xiv. 440); but there is no apparent ground for this inference.

[m] Ib. 757, 819; Walch, iv. 704; Schröckh, xv. 88.

[n] Prosper says that Julian endeavoured by deceitful pretences of amendment, to "creep into the communion of the church" at Rome, under Xystus III. (A.D. 439, Jaffé), but was foiled by the influence of the archdeacon Leo (afterwards the successor of Xystus). Chron. A.D. 443 (Patrol. xxvii. 721).

[o] Præf. in Aug. x. 74; Walch, iv. 717.

tial to responsibility, and there can be no sin or guilt unless where there is voluntary evil.[p] Augustine, on the other hand, taught that freedom must be distinguished from the power of choice. God, he said, is free, although his nature excludes the possibility of his choosing or doing anything that is evil; hence a natural and necessary limitation to good is higher than a state of balance between good and evil; and such a balance cannot be, since the possibility of inclining to evil is a defect.[q] Man is not free to choose between good and evil, but is governed either by grace or by sin. Our free-will, without grace, can do only evil; the direction of the will to good must be God's gracious gift. Grace does not take away freedom, but works with the will, whose true freedom is the love of that which is good.[r]

Since Scripture undeniably refers all good to grace, Pelagius acknowledged this in words; but he understood the term *grace* in senses of his own, as meaning merely external gifts and benefits—the being and constitution of man; free-will itself; the call to everlasting happiness; the forgiveness of sins in baptism, apart from any influence on the later spiritual course; the knowledge of God's will, the law and the gospel; the example of the Saviour's life:[s] and if he sometimes used the word to

[p] Aug. de Pecc. Merit. et Rem. ii. 3; Cœlest. ap. Aug. de Perf. Just. 2, seqq.; Julian. ap. Aug. Op. Imperf. i. 48.

[q] De Nat. et Grat. 57; Op. Imperf. i. 100-4; v. 61; vi. 10. Cf. Anselm. Proslogion, 7. "Cum quis dicitur habere potentiam faciendi aut patiendi quod sibi non expedit, aut quod non debet, impotentia intelligitur per potentiam; quia quo plus habet hanc potentiam, eo adversitas et perversitas in illum sunt potentiores, et ille contra eas impotentior." (Patrol. clviii.) On Augustine's views as to freedom of will, see Ferraz, 'Psychol. de S. Aug.', 380, seqq.

[r] Aug. de Pecc. Merit. et Rem. ii. 7; de Sp. et Litt. 52; de Corrept. et Gratia, 31-2. Cf. Prosp. ad Ruf. 18; Wiggers, i. 137; Neand. iv. 339-42; Ritter, v. 348-9; Mozley, 236, 249.

[s] Aug. Epp. clxxvii. 4, 7, 8, 9; clxxix. 3; cxciv. 8-9; de Nat. et Grat. xi. 53; de Gestis Pelag. 22, 30, 47; de Grat. Christi, 2, 8, 45; de Grat. et Lib. Arbit. 23-6; de Sp. et Litt. 32; ad Bonif. iv. 11; Julian. ap. Aug. Op. Imperf. i. 94-5; Wiggers, i. 223, seqq.; Neand. iv. 357-8.

signify the influence of the Holy Spirit on the soul, he did not represent this influence as necessary to the work of salvation, but only as rendering it easier.[t] Pelagius laboured to exclude from the notion of grace anything that might be inconsistent with free-will; Augustine, everything that might savour of merit on the part of man. Distinguishing three stages in good,—the capacity, the will, and the performance,—Pelagius referred the first to God's gift, but regarded the others as within the power of human nature.[u] Augustine, on the contrary, refused to admit the idea of a grace bestowed according to the previous receptivity of the soul; because this, as he thought, placed the determination in human merit. Grace must, by its very name, be gratuitous; the will to do good must be God's gift, as well as the capacity.[x]

While Augustine held that the fall had injured man both spiritually and physically;[y] that by communion with God Adam was enabled to live a higher life; that he might have avoided sin, and, if he had not sinned, would have been raised to perfection without tasting of death, even as the angels, after having borne their probation in a lower degree of grace, were endowed with that higher measure of it which lifts above the possibility of falling and confers immortality:[z]—Pelagius maintained that man's original constitution was mortal; that Adam was originally placed as we are, and that we are not inferior to him.[a] The passages in which St.

[t] Pel. ap. Aug. de Grat. Christi, 8; Aug. de Hæres. 88 (t. viii. 48); Neand. iv. 354-5; Mozley, 102.

[u] Aug. de Gratia Christi, 4, 17-19. He says that Phil. ii. 13 is directly against this. 6.

[x] Ep. cxciv. 7; de Gest. Pel. 33, seqq.; de Grat. Christi, i. 23-7, 34; ad Bonif. ii. 11, 15-21; de Gr. et Lib. Arb. 15; De Don. Persev. 54; Wiggers, i. 254, seqq.; Ritter, vi. 342. This doctrine drew charges of fatalism on Augustine, against which he defends himself, Ad Bonif. ii. 10.

[y] C. Jul. 111-13; Op. Imperf. vi. 7, 9; de Pecc. Mer. et Rem. i. 9-10, &c.

[z] De Pecc. Mer. et Rem. i. 2, 4; de Civ. Dei, xiii. 1; Op. Imp. i. 102; de Corr. et Grat. 31-2.

[a] Aug. de Hæres. 88; de Nat. et Grat. 23; de Corrept. et Grat. 27-8; Op. Imp. iii. 156; Neand. iv. 342-3, 347; Mozley, 96.

Paul speaks of death as the punishment of sin, he interpreted as meaning spiritual death only.[b] Augustine taught that in Adam all men sinned;[c] that, in punishment of the first sin, sin is transmitted by generation to all mankind;[d] that although, under the guidance of grace directing his free-will, man might live without sin, this sinless life has never been actually realized.[e] Pelagius, on the contrary, supposed that Adam's sin did not affect his posterity otherwise than as an example;[f] that there is indeed a deterioration of the race through custom of sinning, even as an individual man becomes worse through indulgence in sinful habits; that this comes to affect us like a nature, and has required occasional interpositions of the Divine mercy by revelations and otherwise;[g] but that man had all along been able to live without sin; that some men had in fact so lived;[h]

[b] De Pecc. Mer. et Rem. i. 2, seqq.; Neand. iv. 350-1.

[c] Much of his reasoning as to this was founded on the Latin translation of ἐφ' ᾧ in Rom. v. 12—"in quo," *i.e. in Adam* (*e.g.* De Pecc. Mer. et Rem. i. 10). Pelagius rightly rendered the words "in eo quod," *i.e. forasmuch as* (Comment. in loc. ap. Hieron. xi. 668). Augustine's mistake, however, does not really vitiate his doctrine. See Olshausen, 'Commentar,' ed. 2, iii. 211.

[d] De Nupt. et Concup. i. 25-7; de Civ. Dei, xiv. 1; Op. Imperf. i. 47. Julian argues that as St. Paul speaks of sin as having entered into the world by "*one* man," he must mean the imitation of Adam's example, since for a transmission by generation *two* would be necessary! Ib. ii. 56.

[e] De Pecc. Mer. et Rem. ii. 7, 8, 12, seqq. As Marcellinus was perplexed by this, Augustine wrote the treatise 'De Spiritu et Littera' for his instruction. See the beginning of it.

[f] Aug. de Pecc. Orig. 11-16.

[g] Pelag ad Demetriad. 8 (Patrol. xxx. 23); Aug. Op. Imperf. i. 91.

[h] Ad Demetr. 5-6; Aug. de Nat. et Gr. 42. Abel, for example—as to whom the argument was this: that if he had sinned, in a time when there were so few persons for Scripture to speak of, it would not have failed to mention his sin (Pelag. ap. Aug. Ep. clxxix. 8; de Nat. et Gr. 44.). Augustine's words as to the Blessed Virgin are remarkable:—"Excepta itaque sancta virgine Maria, de qua propter honorem Domini nullam prorsus, cum de peccatis agitur, haberi volo quæstionem; (unde enim scimus quid ei plus gratiæ collatum fuerit ad vincendum omni ex parte peccatum, quæ concipere et parere meruit, quem constat nullum habuisse peccatum?)—hac ergo virgine excepta," &c. (De Nat. et Grat. 42.) It is evident that Augustine, in thus declining the question (for he does no more) does not give a precedent for the later Romish doctrine on the subject (against which he speaks distinctly, as in Adv. Julian. v. 52; De Genesi ad Litt. x. 32), and elsewhere (*e.g.* De Perf. Jus-

and that, if this had been possible under the earlier dispensations—nay, even in heathenism[1]—much more must it be possible for us under the gospel, which gives additional motives, higher rules of righteousness, and the light of a brighter Example.[k] According to Pelagius, the saints of the Old Testament were justified by the Law; but Augustine held that in spirit they belonged to the New Testament; that they were justified through faith in Christ, and through his grace which was bestowed on them by anticipation.[l] Pelagius saw mainly in Christ nothing more than a teacher and a pattern.[m] His death, although it was allowed to be efficacious for sinners,[n] could not (it was supposed) confer any benefit on those who had no sin; the living union of the faithful with him was an idea as foreign to the system of this teacher as the union of the natural man with Adam in death.[o] Pelagius, however, did not deviate from the doctrine of the church with respect to the Saviour's Godhead.[p]

The practice of infant baptism, which was by this time universally regarded as apostolical, was urged against

titiæ, 44) he asserts that every human being, without exception, has sinned. See Mill, University Sermons, p. 495, Cambr. 1845. Gregory of Nyssa, in answer to Apollinarius, who had asked, "Who is holy from his birth?" mentions St. John the Baptist, who, having leapt in the womb for joy, may be presumed to have been ἐκ γεννητῆς ἅγιος, and Jeremiah, who was sanctified οὐ μόνον ἐκ γενητῆς ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸ γενέσεως; but he says nothing of the Blessed Virgin. Antirrheticus, 28, in Zacagni, 'Collectanea,' p. 192.

[1] Ad Demetriad. 3, 8; Aug. de Grat. Christi, 31, 42; de Pecc. Orig. 29-30; ad Bonif. i. 39. There is much discussion as to the heathen, whose virtues Augustine will not allow to be real (*e.g.* Cont. Julian. l. iv.).

[k] Pel. ap. Aug. de Grat. Christi, 33; Neander, iv. 306-7, 353.

[l] Ad Bonif. iii. 6, seqq.

[m] Aug. de Nat. et Grat. 47.

[n] Pel. in Rom. v. 5, ap Hieron. xi. 667; Aug. c. Julian. vi. 4; Wiggers, i. 316.

[o] Neand. iv. 360-1.

[p] See his profession of faith in Mar. Merc., Patrol. xlviii. 489. Leporius, however, a Gaulish monk, who is styled a Pelagian, appears to have held something like Ebionite opinions as to the person of the Redeemer. Both on this point and as to the doctrine of grace, he was convinced of his errors by Augustine. Cassian. de Incarn. i. 3-8; Lepor. in Patrol. xxxi. 1215, seqq.; Baron. 420. 12, with Pagi's notes; Tillem. xiii. 879, 892; Neand. iv. 332-3.

Pelagius. His opponents argued from the baptismal rites —the exorcisms, the renunciation of the devil, the profession of belief in the remission of sins. Why, they asked, should infants be baptized with such ceremonies for the washing away of sin, if they do not bring sin into the world with them?[q] The Pelagians answered that infants dying in their natural state would attain "eternal life," which they supposed to be open to all, whether baptized or not; but that baptism was necessary for the higher blessedness of entrance into "the kingdom of heaven," which is the especial privilege of the gospel;[r] that, as baptism was for all the means of admission to the fulness of the Christian blessings, the baptismal remission of sin must, in the case of infants, have a view to their future life on earth.[s] Augustine taught that infants dying without baptism must fall under condemnation. As to the nature of this, however, he did not venture to pronounce, and his language respecting it varies; sometimes he expresses a belief that their state would be preferable to non-existence, but at other times his views are more severe.[t] With respect to baptism, Augustine held that it conveys forgiveness of all past sins whatever, whether original or actual: that by it we receive regeneration, adoption, and redemption; but that there yet remains in us a weakness against which the regenerate must struggle here through God's help, and which will not be done away with until that further "regeneration when the Son of man shall sit on the throne of his glory." The doctrine of this remaining infirmity was represented by the Pela-

[q] Aug. de Pecc. Mer. et Rem. i. 63; de Nupt. et Concup. i. 21; ii. 33, 50; c. Jul. vi. 10, seqq.; Op. Imperf. i. 56-60.

[r] Cœl. ap. Mar. Merc. 503; Aug. de Pecc. Orig 6, 21; c. Julian. iii. 8-9; de Hæres 88; de Pecc. Mer. et Rem. i. 23.

[s] See Wiggers, i. 72.

[t] De Pecc. Mer. et Rem. i. 21, 27, 55 (where he denies the existence of any middle place for such infants): c. Jul. v. 44, &c.; Ep. clxvi. 18, seqq. See Wall, i. 360; ii. 204; Wiggers, i. 80; Neand. iv. 428-33; Mozley, 130, and note xviii

gians as disparaging the efficacy of the baptismal sacrament.[u]

Pelagius supposed that God had furnished man naturally with all that is needful for living without sin and keeping the commandments, and that the use of these gifts depends on our own will; Augustine, that at every point man needs fresh supplies of divine and supernatural aid.[x] Pelagius understood justification to be merely the outward act of forgiveness; whereas Augustine saw in it also an inward purification through the power of grace.[y] Grace, he held, does not constrain the will, but delivers it from bondage, and makes it truly free; he distinguished it into—(1.) the *preventing* grace, which gives the first motions towards goodness; (2.) the *operating*, which produces the free-will to good; (3.) the *co-operating*, which supports the will in its struggles, and enables it to carry its desire into act; and lastly, (4.) the *gift of perseverance*.[z]

The existence of evil was a great difficulty which exercised the mind of Augustine. He thought that, as everything must be from God, and as He can only will what is good, therefore evil is nothing—not, as in the Manichæan system, the opposite of good, but only the defect or privation of good, as darkness is the absence of light, or as silence is the absence of sound.[a] It has, however, been remarked that the power which he ascribes to evil is hardly consistent with this idea of its merely negative quality—unless, indeed, his terms be understood in a meaning which they do not naturally suggest;[b] and some of his arguments on this subject must appear (to ordi-

[u] St. Matt. xix. 21; Aug. ad Bonif. iii. 4-5.

[x] De Pecc. Mer. et Rem. ii. 5; Neand. iv. 342-4.

[y] Op. Imperf. ii. 165; Wiggers, i. 152; Neand. iv. 362-3.

[z] Neand. iv. 369-70.

[a] C. Ep. Manich. 34, 44; c. Julian. i. 45; de Civ. Dei, xi. 22; xii. 7; Jul. Müller, 'Lehre v. d. Sünde,' i. 397, ed. 3.

[b] See Müller, i. 403-4; Archbishop Thomson's Bampton Lectures for 1853 17-20, and notes.

ary readers at least) to be little better than a play on words.[c]

Augustine in one of his early works had laid down that predestination is grounded on foreknowledge—an opinion which had been commonly held in the church.[d] As his views on the subject of grace became developed, he had been led to teach a more absolute predestination;[e] but it was not until the Pelagian controversy was far advanced that he set forth distinctly, and in connexion with the rest of his system, those doctrines as to predestination which have entered so largely into the controversies of later times. The occasion for his treating the subject was given by a report of serious dissensions which took place about the year 426 at Adrumetum, where some monks, on the ground (as they supposed) of one of Augustine's epistles,[f] disturbed their brethren by denying the freedom of the will and a future judgment according to works. On this Augustine wrote a letter in which he laid down the necessity of believing both in the Divine grace and in the freedom of the will. "If there be no grace of God," he asks, "how doth He save the world? if there be no free-will, how doth He judge the world?"[g] and he devoted two treatises[h] to the examination of the points in question. In these books he still maintained the freedom of man's will; but he held that this essential freedom was not inconsistent with the existence of an outward necessity controlling it in the prosecution of its desires. Our will, he said, can do that which God wills, and which He foresees that it will do; will, therefore, depends on the divine foreknowledge.[i]

[c] Neand. iv. 290; Ritter, vi. 305-6, 365, 372-3; Müller, i. 395-6, 399-400.

[d] Expos. Propos. ex Ep. ad Rom. 60 (t. iii.). Cf. Retract. I. xxiii. 2. The date was about 394.

[e] Lib. 1. ad Simplicianum (t. vi.), A.D. 397. See De Dono Persev. 55; Wiggers, i. 287; Mozley, 134.

[f] Ep. 194.

[g] Ep. ccxiv. 2. Epp. 215-16 relate to the same affair.

[h] 'De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio'; 'De Correptione et Gratia.'

[i] Ritter, vi. 343-5. Wiggers (i. 136;

God had from eternity determined to rescue some of human kind from the misery brought on us by sin. The number of these is fixed, so that it can neither be increased nor diminished; even before they have a being, they are the children of God; if they deviate from the right way, they are brought back to it; they cannot perish.[k] As God, being almighty, might save all, and as many are not saved, it follows that he does not will the salvation of all—a tenet which Augustine laboriously tried to reconcile with St. Paul's declaration that He "will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth" (I Tim. ii. 4).[l] The elect are supplied with all gifts which are requisite for bringing them to salvation, and grace works irresistibly in them.[m] The ground of their election is inscrutable—resting on the secret counsel of God.[n] He does not predestine any to destruction; for his predestination regards such things only as he himself works, whereas sin is not his work;[o] but he knows who are not chosen and will not be saved. These perish either through unforgiven original sin, or through actual transgression.[p] That they have no portion in Christ is no ground for impugning the Divine justice: for if God do not give grace to all, he is not bound to give it to any; even among men, a creditor may forgive debts to some, and not to others.[q] "By giving to some that which they do not deserve, God has willed that his grace shall be truly gratuitous, and therefore real; by not giving to all, he shows what all deserve. He is good in

and Neander (iv. 291) say that there was a self-deception in his continuing to profess a belief in the freedom of the will.

[k] De Corrept. et Gr. 13, 20, 23, 39; Ep. clxxxvi. 25; clxix. 4.

[l] De Corr. et Gr. 47; De Præd. Sanct. 14. Other attempts of the same kind are collected by Wiggers, i. 365; Giesel. I. ii. 122-3; Ritter, vi. 390-1.

[m] De Corr. et Gr. 13.

[n] Ib. 17; de Præd. Sanct 16; Neand. iv. 298; Giesel. I. ii. 120; Mozley, 148-9.

[o] Op. Imperf. i. 121; Müller, i. 352.

[p] De Corr. et Gr. 42. See Wiggers, i. 301, seqq.; and as to the difference between Augustine and Calvin on this point, 304-6.

[q] Ep. cxciv. 2-3; ad Bonif. ii. 12.

benefiting the certain number, and just in punishing the rest. He is both good in all cases, since it is good when that which is due is paid; and just in all, since it is just when that which is not due is given, without wrong to any one."[r] Those who are lost deserve their condemnation, because they have rejected grace either in their own persons or in that of the common father.[s] Persons who are not of the elect may be baptized, and may for a time live piously, so that in the sight of men they are God's children; but they are never such in God's sight, since he foresees their end. If they go on well for a time, they are not removed from the world until, lacking the gift of perseverance, they have fallen away. That God gives to some men faith, hope, charity, but not perseverance, is astonishing; but it is not so much so as that, among the children of religious parents, he brings some to his kingdom by baptism, while others, dying unbaptized, are shut out; nor is it less wonderful that some perish through not having heard the gospel — (for "faith cometh by hearing")—than that others perish through not having received the gift of perseverance. And, since worldly gifts are variously bestowed, why should it not be so with this gift also?[t] There are, however, differences of degree in the condemnation of those who are not elect; thus, although those who have never heard the gospel will not on account of their ignorance escape the eternal fire, their punishment will probably be less than that of sinners who have wilfully rejected knowledge.[u]

In this system there was much of a new and startling character—the doctrines of absolute predestination, of irresistible grace, of the limitation of Christ's benefits to

[r] De Dono Perseverantiæ, 28-9; cf. De Corr. et Grat. 28.

[s] Ib. 42.

[t] Ib. 11, 16, 18, 19, 40; De Dono Persever. 21; Giesel. I. ii. 122.

[u] De Gr. et Lib. Arb. 5.

the subjects of an arbitrary election.[x] Augustine himself was able to look on these doctrines as encouragements to trust in God; he exhorted others to do the same, and teachers to set them forth in that light, without questioning as to the election of individuals, or driving any to despair through the apprehension of being hopelessly reprobate.[y] But we cannot wonder that they were regarded with alarm by many, both on account of the novelties of the theory and for the sake of practical consequences.[z]

A middle party arose, which is known by the name of Semipelagian, originally given to it by the schoolmen of the middle ages.[a] Its leader, Cassian of Marseilles, was a person of considerable note and influence. He is described as a Scythian—a term which has been variously interpreted, and notwithstanding which some authorities suppose him to have been a native of Gaul.[b] He had been trained in a monastery at Bethlehem, and, after a long residence among the monks of Egypt (as to whose manner of life his works[c] are a principal source of information), had been ordained a deacon by St. Chrysostom, after whose banishment he was intrusted by the clergy of Constantinople with a mission to Innocent of Rome.[d] The occasion and the date of his settlement

[x] Wiggers, i. 448-53.

[y] De Dono Persev. 57-62; Mosh. i. 304; Schröckh, xv. 127; Neand. iv. 372, 382.

[z] Gieseler, vi. 355.

[a] See Walch, v. 4-7; Schröckh, xv. 116; Wiggers, i. 446-7; ii. 4; Giesel. I. ii. 130.

[b] Gennadius, 61. Some suppose him a native of some country bordering on the Euxine. (See Alard. Gaz. Præf. in Cass., Patrol. xlix. 31; Tillem. xiv. 157, 739; Acta SS., Jul. 23, pp. 461-4; Dupin, iv. 14; Walch, v. 37-8; Neand. iv. 375.) Others think that he is called a Scythian from a confusion between Scythia and the desert of Scetis (or, as Cassian himself calls it, Scythis), in which he long resided; and that he was really a native of the west. Pagi, vi. 460; Hist. Litt. ii. 215; Wiggers, ii. 9; Gfrörer, ii. 19-20; Thiersch, in Herzog, art. *Cassianus*.

[c] 'De Cœnobiorum Institutis'; 'Collationes.'

[d] Chrys. t. iii. 523; Pallad. Vita Chrys. ib. xiii. 11

at Marseilles are uncertain; he had founded there a monastery for each sex,[e] and had been raised to the order of presbyter.[f] Unlike Pelagius, whose opinions he strongly reprobated,[g] Cassian acknowledged that all men sinned in Adam;[h] that all have both hereditary and actual sin;[i] that we are naturally inclined to evil; and that for every good thing—the beginning, the continuance, and the ending—we need the aid of supernatural grace.[k] But, although he maintained that grace is gratuitous — although he admitted that, in the infinite varieties of God's dealings with men, the first call to salvation sometimes proceeds from preventing grace, and takes effect even on the unwilling[l]—he supposed that ordinarily the working of grace depends on the determination of man's own will; that God is the receiver of the willing, as well as the Saviour of the unwilling.[m] As examples of those who are called without their own will, he referred to St. Matthew and St. Paul;[n] for proof that in some cases the will precedes the call, he alleged Zacchæus and the penitent thief,—as to whom he made the obvious mistake of regarding the recorded part of their story as if it were the whole.[o] He held that God furnishes man's nature with the seeds of virtue, although grace be needful to develop them;[p] that Christ died for

[e] One of these, the abbey of St. Victor (or at least its church) still exists.

[f] Cass. de Incarnat. vii. 31; Gennad. 61; Wiggers, ii. 14-15; Tillem. xiv. 157.

[g] *E.g.* De Incarn. i. 3; v. 2.

[h] Collat. xxiii. 11.

[i] Ib. 16, seqq.

[k] Ib. xiii. 3, 6; De Cœnob. Inst. xii. 18.

[l] Collat. xiii. 13-18. See Wiggers, ii. 91.

[m] Prosper ap. Aug. Ep. ccxxv. 6. See Collat. iii. 12-22; xiii. 8-18; Aug. de Præd. SS. 2; Tillem. xiii. 915-18; Walch, v. 177; Guizot, i. 385.

[n] Collat. xiii. 11.

[o] Ib. 13. See Prosper c. Collatorem, vii. 3; Wiggers, ii. 110; Neand. iv. 377-8.

[p] Collat. xiii. 12. "Unde cavendum est, ne ita ad Dominum omnia sanctorum merita referamus, ut nihil nisi id quod malum atque perversum est humanæ ascribamus naturæ." The expression as to "seeds of virtue" is found in St. Chrysostom:—ὁρᾷς ὅτι πρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν ἔχομεν ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως σπέρματα; τὰ δὲ τῆς κακίας παρὰ φύσιν ἐστίν. Hom. 2 in Ep. ad Ephes. p. 120, ed. Field.

all men, and that grace is offered to all;[q] that there is a twofold predestination—the general, by which God wills the salvation of all men, and the special, by which he determines the salvation of those as to whom he foresees that they will make a right use of grace and will persevere;[r] that the notion of an irrespective predestination is to be rejected, as destructive of all motive to exertion, alike in the elect and in the reprobate, and as implying the gnostic error that there are species of men naturally distinct from each other;[s] and that, in any case, predestination ought not to be popularly taught, inasmuch as the teaching of it might be mischievous, whereas the omission of the doctrine could do no practical harm.[t] Faith and good works (it was said) although they do not deserve grace, are motives to the bestowal of it. Grace must work with our own will and endeavour; it may be lost, and is to be retained by man's free-will—not by a gift of perseverance.[u] God's purpose and calling, according to Cassian, bring men by baptism to salvation; yet the benefits of the Saviour's death extend to persons who in this life were never made members of him—their readiness to believe being discerned by God and reckoned to their credit. In like manner children who die in infancy are dealt with according to God's foreknowledge of what they would have become if they had been allowed to live longer: those who would have used grace rightly are brought by baptism to salvation; the others die unbaptized.[x]

[q] Prosp. ap. Aug. Ep. ccxxv. 6; Walch, v. 160-1.

[r] Collat. xiii. 7; Prosp. ap. Aug. Ep. ccxxv. 3; Walch, v. 165, 178; Wiggers, ii. 122-3, 156, 181.

[s] Prosp. ad Rufin. 4, 19; de Ingratis (Patrol. t. li.); ad Aug. Ep. ccxxv. 3; Schröckh, xv. 108-10; Neand. iv. 378.

[t] Prosp. ap Aug. Ep. ccxxv. 3; Hilar. ib. ccxxvi. 2, 5. This is answered by Augustine, De Dono Persev. 38-40

[u] Cass. Collat. xiii. 11, 13, 18; Walch, v. 162-4.

[x] Prosper ap. Aug. Ep. ccxxv. 4-5; Aug. de Prædest. SS. 24-5; Walch, v. 18-19, 166-7. Augustine speaks strongly against the doctrine of a judgment according to the foresight of things which are never realized. "Ita abhorret a sensibus Christianis, aut prorsus hu-

These opinions found much favour in the south of Gaul, and reports of their progress were sent by two laymen, Prosper and Hilary,[y] to Augustine,[z] who thereupon wrote two treatises,[a] which his Jansenist biographer declares to be nothing less than inspired.[b] In these books he spoke of his opponents with high regard; he acknowledged the great and fundamental difference between them and the Pelagians; he treated them as being united with himself as to essentials, and he expressed a trust that God would bring them to the fulness of a sound belief.[c] The further history of Semipelagianism will come under our notice hereafter.[d] A.D. 428-9.

IV. During the last years of Augustine's life, Africa was overwhelmed by a barbaric invasion; and the author of the calamity was one with whom he had long been on terms of friendship,—the imperial general, count Boniface. Boniface had at one time been so deeply impressed by religious feeling that he would have entered a monastery but for the dissuasions of Augustine and Alypius, who told him that he might do better by living Christianly in his military station, and exerting himself for the safety of his country.[e] He afterwards, however, married a second wife, of Arian family; and although she had professed Catholicism, it is said that the general, after entering into this connexion, declined both in faith and in morals.[f]

Aëtius, the rival of Boniface in power and in military

manis, ut id etiam refellere pudeat." De Dono Persev. 22; comp. 31.

[y] Hist. Litt. ii. 10, 16, 209.

[z] Aug. Ep. ccxxv.-vi. It seems to be a mistake to identify Augustine's correspondent with Hilary, afterwards bishop of Arles (for whom see below, c. iv.). Not. in Ep. 226; Vita Prosp. c. 23 (Patrol. li.); Stillingfleet, 282; Wiggers, ii. 137; Ampère, ii. 23.

[a] 'De Prædestinatione Sanctorum,' and 'De Dono Perseverantiæ.'

[b] Tillem. xiii. 921.

[c] De Præd. SS. 2; Tillem. xiii. 918; Walch, v. 32, 60-1; Schröckh, xv. 113, 130; Neand. iv. 378, 381.

[d] See below, ch. vii.

[e] Aug. Ep. clxxxix., ccxx. 3; Tillem. xiii. 712-14.

[f] Aug. Ep. ccxx. 4; Tillem. xiii. 886.

distinction, basely endeavoured to undermine him. By representing him as engaged in treasonable designs, he persuaded Placidia, the sister of Honorius, who governed in the name of her son, the young Valentinian, to recall the general from Africa; and at the same time, by telling Boniface that his ruin was intended, he induced him to disobey the summons. Boniface fell into the snare, raised the standard of revolt, and invited to his assistance the Vandals, who about the year 420 had established themselves in the south of Spain. A large body of them, under the command of Gieserich or Genseric, passed into Africa,[g] where they were joined by the Moors and by the fanatical Donatists—eager to take vengeance on the catholics for many years of depression. The province was cruelly ravaged; the clergy in particular were marks for the enmity both of the Donatists and of the Arian invaders.[h]

A.D. 428.

Boniface, who had been urged by Augustine to return to his allegiance, was deeply distressed by the savage proceedings of his allies, and, by means of explanations with the court, he discovered the treachery of Aëtius. Vainly imagining himself able to undo the mischief which he had caused, he requested the Vandals to withdraw from Africa, but was answered with derision, and found himself obliged to have recourse to arms as the only hope of delivering his country from the consequences of his imprudence. But his forces were unequal to the enemy; and, after having been defeated in the field, he shut himself up in Hippo with the remains of his army.[i]

Augustine was indefatigable in his labours during the invasion. He continued a long and elaborate treatise

[g] Procop. de Bello Vandal. i. 3; Tillem. Emp. vi. 193; Gibbon, iii. 206-9.

[h] Possid. 28; Victor Vitensis, i. 2, seqq. (Patrol. lviii.); Tillem. xiii. 899-900.

[i] Procop. ii. 3; Gibbon, iii. 212.

against the Pelagian Julian of Eclanum; he wrote other controversial works, and endeavoured by letters of advice and consolation to support the minds of his brethren in their trials. His pastoral cares were increased by the multitudes of all classes who had sought a refuge within the walls of Hippo; and soon after the Vandals had laid siege to the town, he fell sick in consequence of his exertions. Wishing to secure his devotions from interruption, he directed that his friends should not be admitted to him, except at the times when medicine or food was administered. He desired that the penitential psalms should be hung up within his sight, and read them over and over with a profusion of tears. On the 28th of August, 430, he was taken to his rest.[k] June, 430.

## CHAPTER III.

### NESTORIANISM.

THE younger Theodosius was carefully educated under the care of his sister Pulcheria, and throughout his life was directed by her influence.[a] His character was mild, but feeble. The nature of his piety may be inferred from a story which Theodoret[b] tells in commendation of it. An impudent monk, after having repeatedly met with a refusal in some application to the emperor, excommunicated him. When meal-time A.D. 408-450.

[k] Tillem. xiii. 940-3. Hippo held out for fourteen months. Boniface had then got assistance from Italy and the east, but was again defeated by the Vandals. The people of Hippo escaped by sea. No bishop later than Augustine is mentioned. In the seventh century the town was destroyed, and its materials were used for the building of Bona, at a distance of about two miles. Tillem. xiii. 945-6; Gibbon, iii. 214.

[a] Soc. vii. 22; Tillem. Emp. vi. 16; Gibbon, iii. 195.

[b] v. 37.

arrived, Theodosius declared that he would not eat until he were absolved, and sent to beg that the bishop of Constantinople would desire the monk to take off his excommunication. The bishop answered that no heed ought to be paid to such a sentence; but Theodosius could not be at ease until the monk was found and was prevailed on to recall it. Pulcheria vowed virginity, and persuaded her three sisters to join in the vow; the life and occupations of the imperial family resembled those of a monastic society.[c]

In 421 Pulcheria provided her brother with a consort, Athenais, the orphan daughter of an Athenian rhetorician.[d] The empress took the name of Eudocia, and gave birth to a daughter, Eudoxia, who, in 437, was married to the emperor of the west, Valentinian the Third.[e] The mother then obtained leave to visit the Holy Land, where she expended immense sums on churches, monasteries, and hospitals; and on returning to Constantinople, she brought with her some relics which were regarded as exceedingly precious.[f] But soon after her return, she fell into disgrace, probably in consequence of having aspired to counteract the ascendency of Pulcheria, and the remainder of her days was spent in penitential retirement at Jerusalem.[g]

The state of the Christians in Persia drew the empire into a war with that country. Maruthas, a Mesopotamian bishop, after having laboured with much success

[c] Baron. 426. 36; Tillem. xv. 173-4; Gibbon, iii. 193.

[d] Soc. vii. 21; Evagr. i. 20; Chron. Pasch. A.D. 420-1; Gibbon, iii. 196.

[e] Soc. vii. 44; Evagr. i. 20; Tillem. Emp. vi. 75.

[f] Soc. vii. 47; Evagr. i. 20.

[g] Marcellin. A.D. 444 (Patrol. li.); Tillem. Emp. vi. 85; Pagi, vii. 602; viii. 53; Gibbon, iii. 198. Cf. Chron. Pasch. A.D. 444. Eudocia's poem on St. Cyprian has been mentioned, vol. i. p. 162. A chronicler, of whose work Cardinal Mai discovered some fragments in the Basilian monastery of Grotta Ferrata, and whom he refers to the age of Justinian, says that she rebuilt the wall of Jerusalem, εἰποῦσα, ὅτι, Δι' ἐμὲ εἶπεν ὁ προφήτης Δαβὶδ, Ἐν εὐδοκίᾳ σου οἰκοδομηθήσεται τὰ τείχη Ἱερουσαλὴμ. (Ps. l. 20. LXX.) Patrol. Gr. lxxxv., 1813.

among the Persians as a missionary,[h] had been sent by Arcadius as an envoy to the king, Yezdegerd. While thus employed, he detected and exposed the arts by which the magi endeavoured to work on the superstitious feelings of the king; in consequence of his exertions, a complete liberty of religion was obtained for the Christians, and it was hoped that Yezdegerd himself would become a convert.[i] But this state of things was reversed through the indiscretion of a bishop named Abdas, who destroyed a temple of the national religion. The king summoned him into his presence, mildly reproved him, and ordered him to restore the building, under pain of death and of retaliation on the Christian churches. As Abdas obstinately refused,[k] the king found himself obliged to execute his threats, and in consequence of this affair his disposition towards the Christians was changed. Many of them were put to death with frightful tortures, and after some intermission during the last years of Yezdegerd, the persecution was renewed with greater violence under his successor, Bairam, or Vararanes. The frontiers of Persia were guarded, lest the Christians should escape; but some of them made their way to Constantinople, and represented the sufferings of their community to the emperor. Theodosius refused to give up the fugitives; and a war ensued, which, after some years, was concluded in favour of the Romans.[l] In the course of this war, Acacius, bishop

A.D. 414.

A.D. 420.

A.D. 422.

[h] See Chrysost. Ep. xix. 5.

[i] Soc. vii. 9; Theod. v. 39; Baron. 420. 15, seqq.

[k] Theodoret remarks that the destruction of the temple was an error, since St. Paul did not use any such means against the idolatry of Athens; but that Abdas is to be admired for refusing to restore it, inasmuch as this would have been nothing less than sharing in the worship of fire (v. 39). Tillemont, as in the case of St. Ambrose (see vol. i. p. 388), endeavours to subdue his doubts by a reference to authority (xii. 357). See Bayle, art. *Abdas*, n. C., and Schröckh, vii. 366.

[l] Soc. vii. 18-20; Theod. v. 39; Pagi, vii. 207; Tillem. Emp. vi. 36-9. Theo-

of Amida, distinguished himself by a remarkable act of charity. Having learnt that seven thousand Persian captives were in his neighbourhood, he called his clergy together, and, reminding them that the God of Christians had no need of cups or dishes, as being Himself all-sufficient, he proposed to sell the gold and silver vessels of the church. With the price he ransomed the captives, and, after having entertained them until they were recovered from the effect of their privations, he sent them to the Persian king, as evidences of the real spirit of Christianity.[m]

By the death of Theodosius, in 450, Pulcheria became in her own right empress of the east. Feeling, however, that a female reign was a hazardous novelty, she bestowed her hand on a nominal husband, Marcian, a senator sixty years of age; and his conduct amply justified the choice.[n]

For some years the empire had been kept in terror by Attila, king of the Huns, who extorted humiliating submissions and concessions from Theodosius. Marcian resolved to deal more boldly with this enemy; he refused the tribute which his predecessor had paid,[o] and Attila threatened vengeance. But before attempting to execute his purpose, the barbarian leader turned his arms against the empire of the west, where Aëtius, after having effected the ruin of his rival Boniface, had gained an entire ascendency, and for twenty years sustained with admirable vigour the throne of the feeble and depraved Valentinian. Attila, at the head of an immense host, had penetrated as far as Orleans, spreading

A.D. 451.

doret says that, at the time when he wrote, the persecution had lasted thirty years. His meaning is supposed to be that the Christians continued to suffer annoyance.

[m] Soc. vii. 21.

[n] Evagr. ii. 1. For Pulcheria, see Acta SS., Sept. 10.

[o] Tillem. Emp. vi. 95-112; Gibbon, iii. 225, seqq.; Amédée Thierry, Hist. d'Attila, i. 133 (Paris, 1856).

desolation along his course,[p] when Aëtius, who had been urged to action by Anian, bishop of that city, advanced against him with a force composed of Romans and allies, of whom the most important were the Visigoths of southern Gaul, under Theodoric, the son of Alaric. The Huns, who had already entered Orleans, were driven off. Attila was defeated in the great battle of the plains of Châlons, and was compelled to retreat across the Rhine.[q] A.D. 452. In the following year he invaded Italy; but the peninsula was saved from the apprehended ravages of his host by the mediation of Leo, bishop of Rome, who, with two high officers of the empire, waited on him in the neighbourhood of Mantua, and persuaded him to retire on receiving a large sum of money.[r] A.D. 453. A few months later, the sudden death of the king, while employed in preparations for an attack on Marcian, and the consequent dissolution of the Hunnish monarchy, relieved both divisions of the empire from the fear with which he had inspired them.[s]

In the year after the death of Attila, Valentinian, on a suspicion that Aëtius aimed at the crown, stabbed him at an interview in the palace; and, having treacherously violated the wife of a senator named Maximus, he fell a victim to the vengeance of the husband, which was executed by two of the murdered general's adherents.[t] Mar. 16, 455.

On the death of Sisinnius, the successor of Atticus

[p] See Thierry, cc. v.-vi.

[q] Jornandes, 37-40 (Patrol. lxix.); Greg. Turon. ii. 7; Tillem. Emp. vi. 149-62; Gibbon, iii. 254, 264-72.

[r] Prosper, Chron. (Patrol. li. 603); Thierry, i. 217, seqq. This is the subject which, in its legendary form, has been represented by Raphael in one of the frescoes of the Vatican.

[s] Jornand. 42, 49; Marcellinus, A.D. 454; Tillem. Emp. vi. 169-75; Mém. xv. 750; Gibbon, iii. 273-82; Thierry, i. 223-70.

[t] Prosper, Patrol. li. 604; Tiro Prosper, ib. 864; Tillem. Emp. vi. 251-3; Gibbon, iii. 283-4. According to Procopius (De Bello Vandal. i. 4, p. 187) and Marcellinus (A.D. 455) Maximus had been the instigator of the murder of Aëtius.

at Constantinople, a contest arose between the partisans of Philip of Side and Proclus. Both had been candidates in opposition to the late bishop; Proclus had since been consecrated by Sisinnius for Cyzicum, but, as the people of that city denied the right of the bishop of Constantinople to appoint their pastor, he had been unable to get possession of the see. The court, with a view to allay the strife of parties, resolved that the vacancy should not be filled by any of the Constantinopolitan clergy, and made choice of Nestorius, a presbyter of Antioch.[u] Nestorius had been a monk; he was of blameless life, had some character for learning, and was celebrated for his fluent and sonorous oratory; while he is charged with pride, vanity, and an eager desire of popularity, which led him (it is said) to make an ostentatious display of sanctity in his behaviour, and to affect an ambitious and unsubstantial style in preaching.[x] In addition to his personal reputation, the circumstance that he came from the same church with the revered Chrysostom rendered the nomination acceptable at Constantinople; and he was willingly elected by the clergy and people.[y]

April, 428.

The new bishop entered on his office with a great display of zeal against heresy. Preaching in the cathedral on the day of his enthronement, he addressed the emperor—"Give me earth cleared of heretics, and I will give you the kingdom of heaven in return; aid me in subduing the heretics, and I will aid you to subdue the Persians!" The words were loudly applauded; but we are told that the wiser of the hearers conceived from them no favourable idea of the speaker's modesty and prudence.[z]

[u] Soc. vii. 26, 29; Tillem. xiv. 283, 705

[x] Theodor. Hær. iv. 12.

[y] Cassian. de Incarn. Christi, vii. 30; Walch, v. 319, 339-40.

[z] Soc. vii. 29

This declaration of war was speedily followed up by deeds. Five days later the bishop attacked a meeting-house of the Arians; the congregation in despair burnt it down; the flames reached to other buildings, and Nestorius got the name of "the incendiary."[a] He also persecuted other sectaries, and procured from the emperor a severe law against them.[b] Socrates particularly notices his proceedings against the Novatianists — a sect to which the historian himself inclined, and which Atticus had always spared, on the ground that they had suffered from the Arians in common with the catholics, and that, as their separation was so ancient, their agreement in the doctrine of the Trinity was a valuable witness to the orthodoxy of the church.[c]

Nestorius himself was soon to fall under suspicion of heresy.

The schools of Alexandria and Antioch had been led, by their characteristic difference of tone, and by the necessity of opposing the several errors which more immediately pressed on each, to a diversity of view and expression on the subject of the Saviour's incarnation.[d] At Alexandria, where Arianism was the enemy to be combated, the Divinity was so strongly insisted on that language is found, even in the writings of Athanasius himself, which at a later time would have been a token of Eutychianism; as where he speaks of "not two natures, but one incarnate nature of God the Word."[e] Although the

[a] Soc. vii. 29; Tillem. xiv. 298.

[b] May 30. Cod. Theod. XVI. v. 65.

[c] Soc. vii. 25.

[d] Walch, v. 894.

[e] Ath. de Incarn. Verbi, t. ii. p. 1. The phrase is quoted as from Athanasius by Cyril of Alexandria, in his letter to the empresses (t. V. ii. p. 48; see below, p. 183). On account of its appearing to favour Eutychianism, the genuineness or integrity of the tract has been questioned, as by Pétau, who ascribed it to Apollinarius (De Incarn. IV. vi. 5-7; V. 15-17); but apparently without good reason. See Tillem. xiv. 534; Walch, v. 806-7, 884; Giesel. I. ii. 133-4; Hefele thinks the tract spurious, but says that Athanasius might have used the phrase, as this admits of an orthodox sense (ii. 129). Early writers

distinctness of the Godhead and the manhood was recognized, the natures were viewed in their union; and as the Person in whom they met was one, the properties of one nature were, in speaking of him, transferred to the other. Thus that which in strictness could belong only to his manhood, was predicated of him as God, since the personality was in his Godhead before he assumed the nature of man; "God" (it was said) "was born. suffered, redeemed us with his blood."[f] In the west, a doctrine resembling that with which the name of Nestorius was afterwards connected, had been broached by a Gaulish presbyter named Leporius, who also held questionable opinions as to original sin.[g] Augustine, who succeeded in convincing him of his errors, illustrated the communication of properties in the Saviour by saying that we may speak of a "philosopher" as killed, dead, or buried, although it is in the body that such things befall the man, and not in that part of him to which the quality of philosopher belongs.[h]

On the other hand, the Syrians—having to contend against Apollinarianism, with its denial of the Saviour's entire humanity, and its consequent fusion of the Godhead and the manhood into a third something, different from either—were under a necessity of carefully distinguishing between the two natures. This method appears more scientifically correct than the other; but, in a school of rationalistic tendency (if the word may be used without conveying too strong an idea) it was likely to become dangerous. Diodore, afterwards bishop of Tarsus, and Theodore, afterwards bishop of Mopsuestia—the former Chrysostom's master, the latter his fellow-

had even spoken of the two natures as "mixed," in the Saviour. Ib. 126.

[f] See Joh. Damasc. de Fide Orthod. iii. 4 (Opera, i. 209-10. ed. Le Quien, Paris, 1712); Petav. de Incarn. iv. 15-16; x. 1; Walch, v. 898; Neand. iv. 130; R. I. Wilberforce on the Incarnation, 193-4; Dorner, ii. 76, 135-7.

[g] See p. 158.

[h] Ep. clxix. cf. Cassian. de Incarn. Christi, iv. 5-8; v. 22; Dorner, ii. 89; Hefele, ii. 133.

student and friend—were distinguished as teachers in this school, and introduced a system of explaining Scripture by the aid of history, criticism, and philology, whereas until their time commentators had been divided between the merely literal and the allegorical methods.[i] Diodore and Theodore, therefore, may be regarded as the forerunners of modern interpretation; but it would seem that with the merits of their system they combined an inclination to lower and improperly to humanize the meaning of holy writ.[k] For nearly fifty years Theodore maintained the cause of the church in controversy with various classes of assailants, and throughout his life his orthodoxy was regarded as unimpeachable. He was, however, afterwards represented by some as the father both of Nestorianism and of Pelagianism, and his memory became the subject of disputes which widely disturbed the church.[l] Nestorius has been described as

[i] Soz. viii. 2.

[k] See Neand. iii. 497-9; iv. 112, seqq.

[l] Theodoret, v. 40; Pagi, vii. 232-3; Tillemont, xii. 442; Walch, v. 893; Schröckh, xviii. 266; Dorner, ii. 31-57; Hefele, ii. 131-2. Gregory the Great says that the apostolic see rejects Sozomen's history, because it speaks of Theodore as having continued to his death to be a great teacher of the church; no one, therefore, says Gregory, can receive this book without contradicting the fifth general council. (Ep. vii. 34.) Theodore was bishop of Mopsuestia from 392 to 428 (Tillem. xii. 437). Most of his writings are now lost. He is said to have rejected some books of Scripture, and he denied the evangelical import of certain psalms which had been generally regarded as prophetic of the Messiah. (See Facund. Hermian. pro tribus Capitulis, iii. 6, Patrol. ixvii.; Walch. viii. 14-15.) His criticisms on the book of Job, which were quoted in the fifth general council (Collat. iv. t. V. 451-7, ed. Labbe), may be mentioned as a specimen of his manner. — The writer, he says, instead of relating the story of the patriarch in a simple and edifying way, is ambitious of displaying his pagan learning, and imitates the eloquence of the heathen tragedians. Theodore finds fault with the conduct of the plot and of the argument. The heathenish tendency he considers to be sufficiently apparent from the circumstance that Job's youngest daughter has [in the Septuagint] the pagan name of *Amalthea's horn*, which *must* have come from the author, since the patriarch knew nothing of the Greek mythology (!) His exposition of the Canticles is remarkable in a similar style. (See Schröckh, xv. 190, seqq.) Although commentaries of such a kind may contain much that is valuable and instructive, the description of them is not such as to prepossess us in favour of the writer's orthodoxy. Theodoret, *

a pupil of Theodore; but the description, if meant to imply a personal relation between the two, is probably incorrect.[m] Nor is much faith to be given to a story that Nestorius, on his way to take possession of his see, visited the bishop of Mopsuestia, who was then near his end, and that during this visit he imbibed the opinions which are associated with his name.[n]

A.D. 428. The first outbreak of the Nestorian controversy was on the occasion of a sermon in which Anastasius—a presbyter who had accompanied the bishop of Constantinople from Antioch, and was much in his confidence—attacked the use of the word *Theotokos* (*bearer* or *mother of God*), as applied to the blessed Virgin. Mary, he said, was human, and from man God cannot be born.[o] The term thus called in question had been used in the preceding century by Eusebius of Cæsarea, by Athanasius, the two Gregories, and others;[p] the import of it was not to imply that the blessed Virgin communicated the Divine nature to the Saviour, but to affirm the union of Godhead and manhood in one Person, "because the Son of God took not

warm admirer of Theodore, protests (although without naming him) against his interpretation of the Psalms and Canticles. (Opera. i. 394-5, 984; see Tillem. xv. 257-8; Schröckh, xvii. 391-4.) Some of Theodore's extant works are printed in the 'Spicilegium Romanum,' in Mai's 'Collectio Nova,' and in the 'Patrol. Gr.' lxvi.; and he is supposed to be the author of a commentary on St. Paul's shorter epistles, published in Latin by Cardinal Pitra ('Spicilegium Solesmense,' vol. i.) as the work of St. Hilary of Poitiers (Herzog, xv. 716). An edition of Theodore was commenced by A. F. v. Wegnern, Berlin, 1834; but only the first volume has appeared. There is a list of the published remains in Herzog, xv. 728.

[m] See Walch, v. 315. Pétau infers that Nestorius was a hearer of Theodore, from a letter of John of Antioch, in Hard. i. 1329 (De Incarn. I. vii. 3)

[n] Evagr. i. 2. See Tillem. xiv. 312 Walch, v. 886.

[o] Garner. in Mar. Merc., Patrol. xlviii. 703; Soc. vii. 32; Evagr. i. 2; Dorner, ii. 62-3.

[p] Euseb. Vita Const. iii. 43; Athan. Orat. iv. 32; Greg. Naz. Ep. 101 (t. ii. 85); Hard. i. 1400, seqq. See Petav. de Incarn. v. 15; Walch, v. 842-3; Newman on Athan. Orat. 420, 447. Gibbon, (iv. 343) says that it came from the Arians; which Dr. Newman (on Ath. Orat. 292) shows to be a calumny. Hesychius of Jerusalem, who died in 343, had called David θεοπάτωρ (*father of God*). Giesel. I. ii. 134.

to himself a man's person, but the nature only of a man."[q] To the Syrians, however, the word appeared to involve the Apollinarian error of a confusion between the two natures; while the refusal of it by Anastasius suggested to his hearers at Constantinople the idea that the new bishop and his party maintained the mere humanity of the Redeemer — supposing the Spirit to have dwelt in Him only in the same manner as in the prophets.[r]

Nestorius supported his friend by preaching a number of sermons,[s] in which he brought forward quibbling and sophistical objections to the term *Theotokos*. If this expression were to be allowed (he said), the heathens might be excused for assigning mothers to their deities;[t] the blessed Virgin ought in truth not to be styled *Theotokos*, but *Theodochos*, as having received God within her.[u] Proclus, the late candidate for the see, preaching in the cathedral on a festival to which the subject was appropriate, eloquently asserted the use of *Theotokos*,[x] and his discourse was received with enthusiasm: when Nestorius rose and objected to the preacher's doctrine as confounding the two natures.[y] He declared, however, that he did not refuse to use the word *Theotokos*, provided that it were rightly explained, so as not to deify the blessed Virgin herself;[z] but if she were to be styled *mother of God*, the phrase must be balanced by also styling her *mother of man*—mother of the tabernacle prepared by the Holy Spirit for the habitation of the

[q] Hooker, V lii. 3.

[r] Neand. iv 126.

[s] Marius Mercator gives translated summaries or extracts of thirteen. Patrol. xlviii.

[t] Serm. i. 6.

[u] Ib. vii. 48.

[x] The sermon is in Patrol. Gr lxv. 680; and in Mar. Mero. col. 777

[y] Serm. iv. Some place this on Christmas-day, 428; others on the Epiphany, or on the Annunciation 429; but it is doubtful whether the festival of the Annunciation was yet instituted. See Garnier in Mar. Merc. 706, 776; Augusti, iii. 43-61.

[z] Serm. v. 4.

Divine Word. He therefore proposed to speak of her as *Christotokos* (*mother of Christ*)—a term which would denote her relation to Him who is both God and man.[a] It may, he said, be affirmed that *Christ* has the attributes of either nature; but not that *God* was born, or that *man* may be adored.[b]

The excitement at Constantinople was immense. Nestorius continued to preach on the subject in dispute, and was often interrupted in his sermons.[c] Eusebius, an advocate, who afterwards became bishop of Dorylæum, charged him with the heresy of Paul of Samosata, and openly placarded a parallel between the two systems.[d] The monks and most of the clergy were against the bishop, and old jealousies connected with the election were revived among them; while the court supported him, and the majority of the people were as yet favourable to him, although many withdrew from his communion. He tells us that some of his opponents threatened to throw him into the sea;[e] and from the petition of some monks against him we learn that he himself made liberal use of deposition, whipping, banishment, and other forcible means against such of them as were subject to his jurisdiction.[f]

In the controversy which had thus arisen, as in the great controversy of the preceding century, the chief champion of orthodoxy was a bishop of Alexandria; but his character and policy remind us less of Athanasius than of his own uncle and immediate predecessor Theophilus.[g]

Cyril had passed five years among the monks of Nitria;

[a] Serm. ii. col. 765; v. 1; xii. 9, seqq.; Cassian. de Incarn. vii. 30; Soc. vii. 31; Theod. Hæres. iv. 12, p. 246.

[b] See Serm. vii.: Dupin. iv. 64.

[c] *E.g.* M. Merc. col. 769.

[d] Hard. i. 1271-4; Evagr. i. 9.

[e] Serm. vii 1.

[f] Hard. i. 1337.

[g] Tillemont mildly remarks. that although St. Cyril be a saint, much of his conduct is not saintly. xiv. 541.

but his friend the abbot Isidore of Pelusium,[h] a man of great piety and sincerity, tells him, in a letter written during this period, that, while he was praying in the desert, his heart was still fixed on the world.[i] In 412, on the death of Theophilus, he was elected to the see of Alexandria after a contest with the archdeacon Timothy.[k] In the administration of his office he shewed himself covetous and rapacious; he left at his death a large property, amassed from the revenues of the church; he is even charged with simoniacal practices.[l] The earlier years of his episcopate were marked by many displays of violence. He acquired for his see an amount of secular power such as had not till then been attached to any bishoprick;[m] he proceeded with great severity against the Novatianists; he expelled the Jews from Alexandria on account of a bloody tumult in the theatre, and in consequence of this act he quarrelled with the prefect, Orestes. A legion of fanatical monks from Nitria descended on the city, and attacked the prefect; one of them, who had hit him with a stone, was executed for the offence, and was thereupon canonized by Cyril as a martyr.[n] The coolness with which the prefect regarded the bishop after these scenes was ascribed by the populace to the influence of Hypatia, a beautiful and learned virgin, whose lectures in philosophy drew admiring crowds to Alexandria; and in this belief, a mob of parabolani and others, headed by a reader named Peter, attacked her in the street, dragged her from her chariot, hurried her into the cathedral church, and there barbarously murdered her.[o] That Cyril had any share in the atrocity appears to be an unsupported calumny;[p] but the perpetrators were mostly officers

A.D. 416.

[h] See Schröckh, xvii. 520-9. Ep. 25, ed. Paris, 1638.
[i] Tillem. xiv. 268.
[k] Schröckh, xviii. 351; Neand. iv. 133.
[l] Soc. vii. 2.
[m] Ib. 2, 13, 14.
[n] Ib. 15.
[o] Schröckh, vii. 44-5. Gibbon assumes the truth of it as unquestioned. iv. 341.

of his church, who had unquestionably drawn encouragement from his earlier proceedings; and his character deservedly suffered in consequence of their outrage.[q]

Cyril had accompanied his uncle in the expedition to Constantinople which proved so disastrous to Chrysostom. He held out longer than any other metropolitan against the insertion of Chrysostom's name in the diptychs of the church, even when Atticus of Constantinople entreated him to yield for the sake of peace;[r] nor, although he was at length persuaded to admit the name, and sometimes spoke respectfully of the great preacher's eloquence, did his feeling towards the memory of Chrysostom ever become cordial.[s] And it is evident that the same desire to humble the newly-exalted see of Constantinople which had actuated Theophilus in his enmity to Chrysostom mixed also with Cyril's motives in his proceedings against Nestorius.[t]

The bishop of Alexandria was drawn into the controversy by finding that copies of Nestorius' sermons had been circulated among the Egyptian monks, and that many of these had consequently abandoned the term Theotokos.[u] He denounced the novelty in his paschal letter of 430,[x] and entered into a correspondence with Nestorius himself, in which both parties soon became angry,[y] while he also opened a communication with some clergy and monks of Constantinople who were opposed to their archbishop.[z] It would seem to have been in consequence of the irritation caused by Cyril's letters that Dorotheus, a bishop attached to Nestorius, on some

[q] It is supposed to have been in consequence of this murder that the number of the parabolani was reduced by order of the emperor. (See vol. i. p. 427.) Fleury, xxxiii. 25.

[r] Cyrill. Epp. pp. 201-8 (Opera, t. V. p. ii.).

[s] Baron. 412. 52-63; Tillem. xiv. 268; Schröckh, xviii. 318.

[t] Walch, v 423; Schröckh, xviii 196.

[u] Cyrill. ad Cœlestin. Epp. p. 38.

[x] Ep. 1.

[y] Ib. 2-5.

[z] Hard. i 1295-8.

occasion when the archbishop was seated on his throne, rose up in the cathedral, and loudly uttered an anathema against all who used the title Theotokos.[a] Nestorius accused Cyril of having caused the disturbance which ensued at Constantinople.[b] Some Alexandrians of worthless character, who were there, charged their bishop with various misdemeanours, which Nestorius threatened to bring before a general council. Cyril replied that he should rejoice if his affairs contributed towards the assembling of such a council, but that he would not allow his opponent to sit as one of his judges.[c] He declared himself willing to sacrifice everything for the suppression of Nestorius' heresies;[d] and, in order to detach the court from the opposite party, he addressed a treatise on the orthodox faith to Theodosius, and another to Pulcheria and Eudocia.[e]

Nestorius had more than once applied to Celestine, bishop of Rome, for information as to the Pelagians, some of whose leaders were then at Constantinople;[f] but he had not received any answer. He now repeated his inquiries, and added some account of the new controversy which had arisen.[g] Cyril also applied to Celestine, but more skilfully; for whereas Nestorius had addressed the Roman bishop as an equal, the bishop of Alexandria adopted a strain of deference, or rather subserviency, of which there had been no example on the part of any one among his predecessors.[h] His representation of Nestorius'

[a] Cyrill. Epp. p. 37; Walch, v. 427.
[b] Cyrill. Epp. 20, 38.
[c] Ib. 34-5.
[d] Ib. 36.
[e] Opera, t. V. ii. 1-180
[f] See p. 153.
[g] Hard. i. 1307-10; Tillem. xiv. 342-4.
[h] Ep 9; Walch, v. 433-4. The deacon who carried Cyril's letter was instructed not to deliver it unless Celestine had received a communication from Nestorius. (Hard. i. 1356; Walch, v. 393-5.) Although Cyril went far in flattering Celestine, the very extravagant language which is quoted as from him by Thomas Aquinas (see Gieseler, II. ii. 221; Schröckh, xxviii. 367-8), and which was long relied on by the advocates of the Roman supremacy, is certainly spurious, being part of a great forgery executed in

opinions procured from Celestine and a Roman synod a condemnation of the bishop of Constantinople as a heretic, with a letter announcing to him that he would be deposed and excommunicated, to unless within ten days after receiving it he should conform to the faith of Rome and Alexandria, and restore all whom he had deposed on account of the late disputes. Cyril was authorized to execute this sentence as plenipotentiary of the Roman bishop; and at the same time Celestine wrote to the church of Constantinople, and to John, bishop of Antioch, denouncing the errors of Nestorius, and intimating the condemnation which was to be pronounced if the archbishop should persist in them.[1] Aug. 430.

Cyril also wrote to some eastern bishops, giving his statement of the controversy. From Acacius of Berrhœa (who was now a hundred and ten years old), from John of Antioch, and others, he received answers disapproving of what had been said by Nestorius, and more especially by Dorotheus, but entreating him to avoid an open breach.[k] John, in the name of several other bishops, wrote to Nestorius, expressing full confidence in his orthodoxy, and advising him not to insist on unnecessary scruples as to the disputed term; and, as Nestorius had professed his willingness to adhere to the doctrine of the fathers, and to admit the word Theotokos in a certain sense, the patriarch of Antioch flattered himself that peace would be easily restored.[1]

After some delay, Cyril forwarded the Roman letter to Nestorius, with one written in the name of an Alexan-

the middle of the thirteenth century. Launoy, Epp. pt. i. 1-3 (Paris, 1675); Dupin, iv. 44-5; Janus, 285-8, 310-11.

[i] Hard. i. 1308-26.

[k] Cyrill. Epp. pp. 42-65. Pagi (in Baron 430. 6) says that Acacius was favourable to the opinions of Nestorius: but the only proof of this is that he endeavoured to give his language an orthodox construction.

[l] Hard. i. 1327-33.

drian council, which summoned the bishop of Constantinople to forswear his errors, and concluded with twelve anathemas, which it required him to subscribe.[m] To these Nestorius replied by a like number of counter-anathemas, which, in their turn, were answered at far greater length by Marius Mercator, a zealous layman from the west, who was then resident at Constantinople,[n] and had already made himself conspicuous by his energetic opposition to Pelagianism. Of the propositions thus put forth on each side, while some are really contradictory of each other, others, in words studiously contrasted, express different sides of the same truth. The leading object of Cyril is to assert the unity of the Saviour's person, while that of Nestorius is to guard against a confusion of His natures. Cyril expressed the combination of natures by the term *union;* Nestorius, by *conjunction.*[o] The Alexandrian anathemas produced a great commotion in the east, where they were regarded as doing away with the distinction of natures in the Saviour. John of Antioch wished that they should be generally condemned as Apollinarian,[p] and treatises were written against them by Andrew, bishop of Samosata, and by Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus.[q]

The last-named of these objectors was the most learned divine of whom the eastern church could in that age boast. He was born at Antioch about 390,[r] and is supposed to have studied under Theodore of Mopsuestia,

[m] Hard. i. 1282-94. On Cyril's views see Dorner, ii. 64, 138.

[n] Hard. i. 1297-1300; Mar. Merc. 909, seqq. (Patrol. xlviii.); Walch, v. 700-30.

[o] Ἕνωσις, *union;* συνάφεια, *conjunction.* Συνάφεια, however, had been used by Basil and Chrysostom, and was afterwards used by John Damascene. (Petav. de Incarn. III. ii. 7.) Walch says that it cannot be proved that Nestorius rejected ἕνωσις, although he preferred the other. v. 781-2.

[p] Hard. i. 1349; Theodoret, Ep. 112, p. 983.

[q] Theodor. t. iv. 706, seqq.; Cyrill. vi. 157, seqq. (in reply to the orientals); 200, seqq. (in reply to Theodoret); Mar. Merc. 933, seqq.

[r] Between 386 and 393. Schröckh, xviii. 356.

of whose writings he was certainly a diligent reader and a zealous admirer.[s] About the year 420 he was elected to fill the see of Cyrus or Cyrrhus, in the Euphratensian province, where he laboured with great activity and success to extirpate the heresies with which his diocese had been infested,—often even exposing his life to danger from the fury of the Marcionites and other sectaries, who held possession of entire villages.[t] His influence over his clergy is attested by the fact that in five-and-twenty years not one of them had appeared before a secular tribunal.[u] Nor was his care for his people limited to spiritual things; he devoted the whole of his income to their benefit, erected bridges, baths, and other public buildings, and induced persons skilled in physic and other useful arts to settle at Cyrus.[x] The variety of Theodoret's literary merit was extraordinary; it has been said of him that "he equally well sustains the character of a commentator, a theologian, a historian, a controversialist, an apologist, and a writer on practical religion."[y] Throughout the differences of his time he was the most eminent leader on the oriental side; but his moderation and fairness were ill appreciated amid the rage of party strife, and he suffered from the violence of opposite factions.[z]

Finding himself beset by the patriarchs of Rome and Alexandria, Nestorius saw no other chance of escape from his difficulties than an appeal to a general council. Some of his opponents had already petitioned for such an assembly;[a] and in November 430 Theodosius, in his own name and in that of the western emperor, issued orders for the meeting of representatives of the whole

[s] Schröckh, xviii. 358.
[t] Theod. Ep. 80.
[u] Ib. 80-1.
[x] Ib. 79, 81, 115.
[y] Dupin, iv. 85; comp. Schröckh, xviii. 355-6.
[z] Dupin, iv. 82; Schröckh, xviii. 367. See the article *Theodoretus*, in Smith's Dict. of Biography.
[a] Hard. i. 1340.

church at Ephesus. The time appointed was the following Whitsuntide, and in the meanwhile things were to remain as they were, so that the execution of the Roman decree was suspended. Each metropolitan was to bring with him so many of his suffragans as he might think expedient—taking care that a number sufficient for the performance of the ordinary pastoral duties should be left.[b] The citation addressed to Cyril was accompanied by a special letter from Theodosius, in which the patriarch was charged with pride, turbulence, assumption of rights which belonged to a general council alone, and with fondness for intruding into palaces, as if there were discord between relations, or as if he hoped to set them at variance.[c] This last charge, which refers to the separate letter written by Cyril to Eudocia and Pulcheria, appears to indicate that the suspicion imputed to him was not without foundation.[d] Of bishops below the degree of metropolitan, Augustine alone was honoured with an invitation by name;[e] but, unhappily for the council, he had died some months before.

Nestorius arrived at Ephesus soon after Easter (April 19th), attended by sixteen bishops. Before Whitsuntide (June 7th), Cyril appeared at A.D. 431.

[b] Hard. i. 1344-5. Baronius (430. 61-2) and Bellarmine (De Conc. et Eccl. i. 13) say that, although the emperor called the council, it was by the pope's advice and with his concurrence. But Dupin (iv. 320) observes that the pope knew nothing of it; that he was cited in the same way as other bishops; and that the emperor seems to have wished to reform or invalidate his judgment. (Comp. Nat. Alex. ix. Dissert. vii. qu. 1; Tillem. xiv. 363, 759.) Rohrbacher does not think the matter worth disputing on the old ground. "Cette grande affaire allait se terminer ainsi d'une manière purement ecclésiastique, par la décision du pape, exécutée par le patriarche d'Alexandrie, sans que celui d'Antioche, ni aucun autre évêque, y trouvât à redire; cette voie était trop simple pour la cour de Constantinople. Il fallut à l'Empereur Théodose un concile œcuménique, *lequel après bien des longueurs et des dépenses, ne fera que ce qu'on allait faire sans frais, executer, et cela necessairement, ainsi que le dira le concile meme, la decision du pape!*" (viii. 45-6.)

[c] Hard. i. 1341-4.

[d] See Tillem. x. 176; Walch, v. 557; Schröckh, xviii. 257-8; Neand. iv. 147

[e] Hard. i. 1419; Tillem. xiv. 36

the head of fifty bishops, with a large train of sailors and other disorderly persons.[f] About forty bishops were with Memnon, metropolitan of Ephesus, a man of unscrupulous character, who had a special motive for taking part with Cyril against the patriarch of Constantinople, inasmuch as the independence of his own "apostolical" church was in danger from the neighbourhood of the new capital.[g] The African church was prevented by the Vandal invasion from sending any representative to the council; but Capreolus, of Carthage, wrote a letter, entreating that the fathers would not countenance any novelty.[h] Celestine, of Rome, deputed two bishops and a presbyter to represent himself and "the whole council of the west," with directions to guide themselves by Cyril's judgment, and to consult the dignity of the apostolic see by acting as judges, not as disputants. These, however, had not yet reached Ephesus.[i] Candidian, count of the domestics, was commissioned by the emperor to keep order. In obedience to his instructions, he commanded that all monks and lay strangers should leave Ephesus, and that no bishop should under any pretence absent himself until the business of the council should have been concluded.[k]

About two hundred bishops were assembled, but John of Antioch had not yet appeared. The beginning of his journey had been delayed, partly by the difficulty of collecting his suffragans, who were unable to leave their homes until after the octave of Easter, and partly by disturbances in his city on account of a scarcity; and the state of the roads, flooded by heavy rains, had obliged him to travel slowly, with the loss of many horses by the way.[l] The bishops who were already at Ephesus, while

[f] Soz. vii. 34; Tillem. xiv. 377-8, 762.
[g] Ib. 762-3; Giesel. I. ii. 188, 191.
[h] Hard. i. 1419-22.
[i] Ib. 1347; Tillem. xiv. 374-6, 761; Walch, v. 459-60.
[k] Hard. i. 1346-8; Tillem. xiv. 380-2
[l] Hard. i. 1460; Evagr. i. 3.

waiting for the arrival of John and the orientals, engaged in frequent informal discussions, which tended rather to exasperate than to heal their differences.[m] Nestorius declared that his life was in danger from the ruffians of Cyril's train, and from the peasants who were at the beck of Memnon; while the opposite party complained against the soldiers who acted as a guard to the bishop of Constantinople.[n]

On the 21st of June, Cyril, who, in virtue of the dignity of his see, assumed the presidency of the council,[o] declared that he would wait no longer, although he had received a courteous letter from John, apologising for his delay, and stating that he was within a few days' journey of Ephesus.[p] Nestorius was cited to appear before the council next day; he answered that he would attend when John should be present, or when summoned by Candidian.[q] Theodoret and sixty-seven other bishops, of whom twenty-two were metropolitans, protested against proceeding to business without the presence of the orientals.[r] But the council met on June 22. the following day, in the church of St. Mary, where the Theotokos was believed to have been interred. Candidian attended, and, at the desire of the bishops, read his commission from the emperor. His request that four days might be allowed for the arrival of the orientals was refused; and as the commission restrained him from entering into questions of doctrine, on the ground that these belonged to the bishops alone, he was—not without

[m] Cyrill. Epp. p. 84; Walch v. 465-9.

[n] Hard. i. 1437, 1455, 1460, 1464; Neand. iv. 154.

[o] Baronius (431. 50) and Rohrbacher (viii. 54) assert that Cyril presided as legate of Celestine. See for the contrary Barrow, 450, seqq.; Dupin, iv. 320; Tillem. xiv. 393, 765-6; Fleury, xxv. 37; and comp. Nat. Alex. ix. Dissert. vii. qu. 1; Hefele, i. 30-2. Walch (v. 476) and Schröckh (xviii. 237) vehemently contend that, as the doctrine of Cyril's own anathemas was in question, he ought, like Nestorius, to have appeared as a party, not as a judge.

[p] Hard. i. 1348; Evagr. i. 4.

[q] Hard. i. 1357, 1457.

[r] Ib. 1349-52.

indignity, as he complains—obliged to leave the church, after protesting that anything which might be done in opposition to his directions should be of no effect.[s] The bishops refused even to look at the memorial of their sixty-eight brethren.[t] A second and a third citation were sent to Nestorius, but his guard prevented the delivery of them.[u]

The council proceeded to the question for the consideration of which it had been summoned. After the recitation of the Nicene creed, Cyril's second letter to Nestorius was read, and the bishops severally expressed their high approval of it, as being conformable to the Nicene faith.[x] The answer returned by Nestorius was then read; whereupon many of the bishops spoke in condemnation of it, and the whole assembly joined in uttering anathemas against the writer and his doctrine.[y] Other documents followed; among them was Cyril's third letter to Nestorius—that containing the anathemas—which was received without any remark.[z] By way of proof that Nestorius still adhered to his errors, reports were made as to language which he had used in conversation since coming to Ephesus: as that he had asked how he could give the name of God to a child two or three months old—a question which was understood as a denial of the Saviour's Godhead.[a] A collection of extracts from earlier theologians was produced, in evidence of the true doctrine on the disputed points;[b] and after it a number of passages from the writings of Nestorius were read amidst general disapprobation—the fathers stopping their

[s] Hard. i. 1351-4.

[t] Tillem. xiv. 395; Walch, v. 479.

[u] Hard. i. 1360-1, 1447.

[x] Ib. i. 1364-88.

[y] Ib. 1388-96.

[z] Ib. 1396. The sanction of the council was afterwards constructively claimed for this letter. In the west, the anathemas were even supposed to be the work of the council. See Tillem. xiv. 358, 360, 397-8, 758; Walch, v. 484, 732-3; Gibbon, iv. 344.

[a] Hard. i. 1397-9; Cyrill. Epp. p. 84; Soz. vii. 34; Neand. iv. 158.

[b] Hard. i. 1400-9.

ears at the occurrence of words which they considered blasphemous.[c] A sentence of deposition against Nestorius was drawn up "in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ whom he hath blasphemed"; it was signed by a hundred and ninety-eight bishops, and, in token of the feeling which animated them, it was addressed to the patriarch as "a new Judas."[d] Cyril afterwards attempted to excuse the indecency and the glaring unfairness of these hasty proceedings by such pretences as that John of Antioch was not in earnest, that his delay was intentional, and that he was determined not to condemn one who had been promoted from among his own clergy. Perhaps the boldest of all the pleas was, that two Syrian metropolitans, who reached Ephesus on the day before the session, had answered some complaints of delay by expressing their patriarch's willingness that the council should be *opened* without waiting longer for him.[e] This Cyril ventured to interpret as if the bishop of Antioch consented that the great question proposed for the council's judgment should be decided before his arrival.

Candidian was astonished on the following morning to find what had been done. He tore down the placard in which the deposition of Nestorius was announced; he issued an edict declaring the proceedings of the council to be null and void; he sent their placard to the emperor, with a letter strongly reflecting on the irregularities of Cyril and his associates.[f] Nestorius also wrote to Theodosius, begging that an impartial synod might be assembled for the examination of his case; that each metropolitan should bring with him only two bishops—a regulation which, from the arrangement of the Egyptian

[c] Hard. i. 1409-20.

[d] Ib. 1422-4.

[e] Ib. 1505; Neand. iv. 156. Garnier says that John's excuses for his delay appear to be good, but that it is better to suppose him in the wrong than to censure the opening of the great council as precipitate! Patrol. xlviii. 710.

[f] Hard. i. 1462

patriarchate, would have left Cyril almost unsupported;[g] and that not only monks and clergy, but all such bishops as were not so summoned, should be kept at a distance from the place of meeting.[h]

On the 27th of June, John of Antioch, with fourteen oriental bishops, reached Ephesus. As they approached the city, a deputation from the council met them, and reported the transactions which had taken place. The patriarch was filled with astonishment and indignation. Immediately on reaching his lodgings, he held a council of the bishops who had accompanied him, with twenty-nine others who joined them. Candidian appeared, gave his account of the late session, and withdrew. The bishops then proceeded to consider Cyril's conduct, and the anathemas which he had published; they pronounced him guilty of turbulence, and of reviving the Arian, Apollinarian, and Eunomian heresies; they sentenced him and Memnon to deposition, and declared the rest of the two hundred to be separated from their communion until they should join in condemning the anathemas.[i] The deputies of Cyril's party endeavoured to communicate with John, but were insulted, beaten, and repulsed by the soldiers of his guard.[k] On receiving the report of this, and apparently before the decree of the orientals had reached them, Cyril and his synod declared John to be excommunicate until he should give an explanation of his behaviour. The orientals attempted to carry out their condemnation of Memnon by consecrating a bishop in his stead; but they were unable to gain entrance into a

[g] The bishop of Alexandria had originally been the only metropolitan in his patriarchate. By this time there were apparently some metropolitans under him (Tillemont says eight, xv. 529), although they seem not to have had the same amount of power or independence as metropolitans elsewhere. See p. 430; Stillingfleet, 156-9; Planck, i. 612; Döllinger, i. 201; Wiltsch, i. 180-1; note in Fleury, ii. 83; Neale's 'Holy Eastern Church' Introd. i. 112-13.

[h] Hard. i. 1438-40.

[i] Ib. 1447-58.

[k] Ib. 1488; Evagr. i. 6.

church for the purpose, and were beaten by a rabble of his adherents.[l]

Reports of the proceedings at Ephesus got into circulation, and produced in many quarters an impression unfavourable to Cyril. Isidore of Pelusium, with his usual frankness, wrote to beg that he would act with fairness and deliberation, telling him that he was charged with seeking to disguise his private enmity against Nestorius under the name of a zeal for Christ, and that parallels were drawn between his conduct and that of his uncle Theophilus.[m]

The emperor, on receiving Candidian's letter, wrote to the bishops who had condemned Nestorius, blaming them for having proceeded irregularly and on motives of personal malice, and forbidding them to leave Ephesus until the affair should be rightly settled.[n] A reply was drawn up, in which they excused themselves for having acted without the presence of the orientals, and begged that Candidian might be recalled as having shown partiality to their opponents, and that five of their number might be allowed to wait on the emperor.[o] The acts of the council, revised by Cyril (perhaps not without some unfairness [p]), were annexed to this letter. But Candidian prevented the papers from reaching the court, and the ways were so closely watched that the council, in order to communicate with Constantinople, was obliged to intrust a letter to a beggar, who carried it in a hollow staff.[q] On the receipt of this missive a great agitation

[l] Hard. i. 1451-8; Evagr. i. 5.

[m] Isid. Pelus Ep. i. 310.

[n] Hard. i. 1537-40; Tillem. xiv. 417, Schröckh, xviii. 246.

[o] Hard. i. 1581-4.

[p] Tillem. xiv. 405; Walch, v. 489.

[q] Hard. i. 1588; Tillem. xiv. 406-7, 421. Some writers suppose that the bearer was not a real beggar (Baron. 431. 108; Neand. iv. 164-5). Neander thinks that the device was adopted for the sake of effect, not from any actual necessity. Bp. Hefele supposes that the documents of the council had been given to the clergy of the capital by Theodosius, and publicly read before he received the report of Candidian, which led him to view the council's proceedings unfavourably (ii. 180). But the letter of Dalmatius and others

arose among Cyril's partisans. The monasteries of the capital poured forth their inmates, among whom the most conspicuous was Dalmatius, an abbot who for eight-and-forty years had been shut up within the walls of his retreat, refusing to leave it even when entreated by the emperor to take part in solemn processions on occasion of earthquakes. This recluse was now warned by a heavenly voice to go forth, and proceeded to the palace at the head of an immense multitude, which filled the air with the chant of psalms. The abbots were admitted into the emperor's presence. Dalmatius showed the letter from Ephesus; he set forth the grievances of the orthodox party, and asked whether it were better to adhere to a single impious man or to six thousand bishops, dispersed throughout the world, but represented by their metropolitans and brethren at Ephesus. Theodosius was moved, and said that the council had only to send some of its members to state its case. Dalmatius in answer explained the constraint in which the bishops were held, and obtained from the emperor an order that some deputies should be sent to the court. The crowd, which had been waiting in anxious expectation, received the abbots with enthusiasm as they left the palace. Monks carrying lighted tapers, and chanting the 150th Psalm, escorted them to a church, where Dalmatius ascended the pulpit, read the Ephesian letter, and gave a report of the interview with the emperor; after which the whole multitude joined in shouting anathemas against Nestorius.[r]

Some bishops of Cyril's party were now allowed to go to Constantinople, where their representations and solicitations, seconded by heavy bribes, were so effective that

(Labbe, iii. 756), on which he founds this opinion, seems to agree better with the later date assigned to it by Tillemont, xiv. 426.

[r] Hard. i. 1588-9; Tillem xiv 422-3

the most influential persons about the court were gained to the Alexandrian interest.[s]

The council, in the meantime, held its second session on the 10th of July, when the envoys from Rome appeared, and were received with marks of honour. At the third session, these envoys expressed their approbation of what had been done, and signed the deposition of Nestorius.[t] The hostile parties remained at Ephesus, threatening and excommunicating each other, "with equal pride," according to the expression of an ancient historian,[u] and with a deplorable want of temper and decency on both sides. The emperor—supposing (it is said) that the depositions of Nestorius, and of his enemies, Cyril and Memnon, were all determined by the whole council—confirmed the sentences;[x] John, count of the Sacred Largesses, who superseded Candidian as commissioner put the three bishops under arrest;[y] and in consequence of Cyril's removal, Juvenal, August, 431. bishop of Jerusalem, became president of the council.[z] It was in vain that the commissioner attempted to mediate between the parties; he reported their mutual exasperation to his master, but laid the greater share of blame on the Cyrillians.[a] The extreme heat of the summer, and the confinement within the walls of Ephesus, affected the health of many of the bishops, as well as of their attendants, and a considerable number of deaths took place; while many, who had not made provision for

[s] Hard. i. 1580; Tillem. xiv. 425, 458; Bayle, art. *Nestorius*, n. C; Walch, v. 534, 551. It is Cyril's use of bribery that draws from Tillemont the remark quoted, p. 180, n. g.

[t] Hard. i. 1465-82.

[u] "Pari fastu." Liberatus, c. 6 (Patrol. lxviii. 981).

[x] Hard. i. 1551-5; Tillem. xiv. 427; Walch, v. 506. Acacius of Berrhœa advised this. Hard. i. 1555.

[y] Cyrill. Epp. p. 92; Hard. i. 1555-7; Tillem. xiv. 455-7; Walch, v. 514-16.

[z] If Cyril had presided in the quality of Celestine's representative, the presidency would have devolved on one of the other Roman legates. Dupin, iv. 320.

[a] Cyrill. Ep. pp. 90, seqq.; Tillem. xiv. 455-9; Walch, v. 517.

so long an absence from their homes, were reduced to distress for the means of subsistence.[b]

Dalmatius was again employed to represent the case of his friends to the emperor, and at length, at the request of both parties, a conference of eight bishops from each of the rival councils was held at Chalcedon, in the presence of Theodosius.[c] The court was now against Nestorius,—partly influenced by Cyril's money, partly by Pulcheria, whom Nestorius had offended, partly by dread of the monks and of the populace.[d] Before the arrival of the bishops at Chalcedon, the emperor issued an order that the patriarch, agreeably to a request which he had formerly made, should retire to a monastery near Antioch of which he had been an inmate before his elevation. Nestorius, in acknowledging the receipt of this order, professed himself willing to suffer for the truth, but expressed a wish that an imperial mandate should be issued for a general condemnation of the Egyptian anathemas.[e]

The deputies at Chalcedon had five audiences of the emperor. The party of Cyril refused to enter into any argument, and insisted on the condemnation of Nestorius, while their opponents were equally bent on that of Cyril's anathemas; and, as it became evident that no reconciliation could be expected, Theodosius resolved to put an end to the council. The letter in which he announced his determination appears to show that he was rather overpowered by the influence of Cyril than convinced of the justice of his cause; he declares that he cannot condemn the orientals, since no one had argued against them, and they had not been convicted of any error before him. By the same letter it was ordered

[b] Hard. i. 1601; Tillem. xiv. 462-3.
[c] Hard. i. 1562, 1609; Tillem. xiv. 438, 464-6, 470; Walch, v. 252; Schröckh, xviii. 254.
[d] Walch, v. 548.
[e] Hard. i. 1631; Evagr. i. 7.

that Cyril and Memnon should retain their sees;[f] and in the month of September, Maximian, a monk of recluse and unambitious character, was consecrated as patriarch of Constantinople, in the room of Nestorius.[g]

The council of Ephesus is received as the third general council, and its doctrine respecting the Saviour's person is a part of the catholic faith. But it would be vain to defend the proceedings of those by whom the true doctrine was there asserted;[h] and there remains a question whether Nestorius was really guilty of holding the opinions for which it condemned him. Socrates, whose prejudices were all against Nestorius, acquits him of any worse error than the use of improper language, into which the historian supposes him to have been led by a conceit of his own eloquence, and by a disregard of the writings of earlier divines.[i] The great body of the orientals who supported him at Ephesus are unimpeached in their character for orthodoxy.[k] Perhaps, therefore, Nestorius, in using the words which gave colour to the charge of heresy, may in truth have meant only to guard against opposite errors which might have been inferred from the Alexandrian language, and which shortly after were actually put forth by Eutyches; and the most startling of his expressions may rather have been exaggerations, into which he was driven by irritation, than serious denials of the truths which they seemed to contradict.[l] He steadily disavowed the more odious opinions which were imputed to him; he repeatedly ex-

[f] Hard. i. 1616; Tillem. xiv. 477, 483; Neand. iv. 172.

[g] Hard. i. 1668; Soc. vii. 35.

[h] See Newman, 'Proph. Office of the Church,' 409, 411.

[i] Soc. vii. 32.

[k] Dupin, iv. 326; Tillem. xiv. 543-5.

[l] "In his calmer moments," says Gibbon, "Nestorius confessed that [the term *Theotokos*] might be tolerated or excused by the union of the two natures and the communication of their *idioms;* but he was exasperated by contradiction to . . . draw his inadequate similes from the conjugal or civil partnerships of life, and to describe the manhood of Christ as the robe, the instrument, the tabernacle of his Godhead." iv. 343-4.

pressed his willingness to admit the term *Theotokos*, provided that it were guarded against obvious abuses.[m] The controversy more than once appeared to be in such a position that it might have been ended by a word of explanation: but an unwillingness on both sides to concede, and personal animosities, unhappily prolonged it.[n]

The breaking up of the council left the parties greatly exasperated against each other. The orientals, on their way homewards, held a synod at Tarsus, and after reaching Antioch they held a second. At these meetings they renewed the deposition of Cyril, and extended the sentence to the bishops who had appeared against them at Chalcedon, and had consecrated Maximian for Constantinople; while they declared that they would never consent to the deposition of Nestorius, that they were resolved to adhere to the Nicene faith, and resist the Egyptian anathemas.[o] Theodoret, Andrew of Samosata, and others, wrote against Cyril, and kept up a correspondence with the friends of Nestorius at Constantinople.[p] Many bishops were deprived, and the church was in a miserable state of distraction.[q] Theodosius was anxious for peace, and after a time, by advice of Maximian, proposed that the bishops of Alexandria and Antioch should meet at Nicomedia, to confer on the means of restoring it. Count Aristolaus, to whom the letters were intrusted, was charged to labour for a reconciliation of the parties; and the emperor wrote to beg the prayers of Symeon the stylite and the exertions of Acacius of Berrhœa in furtherance of his pacific intentions.[r]

[m] Soc. vii. 34; Fleury, xxv. 29; Dupin, iv. 288; Mosh. i. 483-4; Schröckh, xviii. 208; Walch, v. 778-802; Giesel. I. ii. 140-1.

[n] Walch, v. 849-51, 917, 926; Schröckh, xviii. 176.

[o] Synodicon, ap. Baluz. 'Collect. Nova Concill.', Paris, 1683, pp. 741, 769, 840, 843, 874, 906; Soc. vii. 34; Tillem. xiv. 495.

[p] Ib. 491-3; 507-9.

[q] Ib. 497-500; Walch, v. 575.

[r] Hard. i. 1683-8; Baron. 432. 47-50 Tillem. xiv. 514-16.

John of Antioch declined the conference on the ground of ill health, and also because he had been informed that there was a plot to waylay him.[s] He consulted, however, with the bishops of his party, and it was agreed that, putting aside the personal question as to Nestorius, they would communicate with Cyril, on condition of his condemning his own anathemas and acknowledging the Nicene creed as a sufficient rule of faith.[t] Cyril was urged from many quarters to accept these terms. He replied that he had written nothing but what was conformable to the catholic faith; that to condemn his own writings would be to deprive himself of the means of combating Nestorianism in future, but that he would give explanations of his former words, if the orientals would accept the acts of the late council, the deposition of Nestorius, and the ordination of Maximian; that he acknowledged the sufficiency of the Nicene creed, but not in such a way as should exclude proper interpretations of it in points where it might be misrepresented by heretics;[u] and in a letter to Acacius he stated his opinions in such a form that Theodoret declared him to be orthodox, and to have abandoned his former errors.[x] The bishop of Antioch was disposed to an accommodation, and sent Paul, bishop of Emesa, to Alexandria, with instructions to promote it. The mission was successful. Cyril subscribed a creed which was substantially the same with one drawn up by Theodoret at Ephesus; the envoy preached thrice at Alexandria with great applause, enlarging on the term *Theotokos;* and John agreed to sign the condemnation of Nestorius, and to approve the ordination of Max-

Dec. 432. Jan. 433.

[s] Baluz. Coll. Nov. 754.

[t] Ib. 756, 764, 766; Tillem. xiv. 517-18.

[u] Cyrill. Epp. pp. 110, 155; Baluz. 759-62; Tillem. xiv. 519-21, 535.

[x] Cyrill. t. v. 93; t. vi. 145, seqq Theodoret. Ep. 112, p. 983.

imian. On these terms Alexandria and Antioch were reconciled in April 433.[y]

In the course of these transactions Cyril expended enormous sums in bribes (or "benedictions,"[z] as they were styled), for the purpose of maintaining his interest at court. A letter from his archdeacon Epiphanius to Maximian of Constantinople is extant, in which it is stated that the Alexandrians groaned under the heavy imposts to which they had been subjected in order to provide the means of this corruption, and that nevertheless, a debt of 1900 pounds of gold (upwards of 63,000*l.*) had been contracted in the name of the church.[a]

The accommodation was not satisfactory to the adherents of either side. Isidore of Pelusium and other friends of Cyril expressed surprise that he had agreed to admit two natures in the Saviour.[b] He replied that, while in one sense he acknowledged two natures, in another sense he allowed only one; that the two natures are separate in conception, although united in the one person of Christ, and that their predicates are properly distinct—a statement which Nestorius himself would probably not have declined, and might in fairness have been invited to accept.[c] On the other hand, Theodoret remonstrated with John against making peace on any terms but such as should secure the restoration of the deposed bishops and include all who had been in the same interest. That Cyril, after having proved himself orthodox by his late explanations, should require consent

[y] Cyrill. Epp. pp. 100-20, 156; Hard. i. 1688-1708; Tillem. xiv. 523-5, 527-9, 530-4, 536-8, 542-7; Walch, v. 595, 600-4, 621; Giesel. I. ii. 150-1.

[z] Εὐλογίαι. (2 Kings v. 15; 2 Cor. ix. 5.) See p. 208

[a] Baluz. 907-9; Gibbon, iv. 349.

[b] Isid. Pelus. Ep. i. 324; Hard. i. 1635-7; Liberatus, 8 (Patrol. lxviii. 984); Giesel. I. ii. 150.

[c] Cyrill. Epp. pp. 118, 133-5, seqq.; Tillem. xiv. 566-71; Walch, v. 623-4; Neand. iv. 175-6; Giesel. I. ii. 151; Dorner, ii. 85. Tillemont remarks that, but for the opposition of the orientals, which drew forth such explanations from Cyril, the Eutychians might at a later time have been much stronger in their arguments from authority.

to the condemnation of Nestorius, was, he said, much the same as if a convert from Arianism were to insist on anathematizing those who had always been sound as to the doctrine of the Son's consubstantiality with the Father; he was still for a condemnation of Cyril's anathemas, and declared that he would rather suffer both his hands to be cut off than subscribe the condemnation of Nestorius.[d] Others, among whom was Theodoret's metropolitan, Alexander, bishop of Hierapolis, an aged and venerable man, still refused to admit the orthodoxy of Cyril.[e] Under the pretence that Alexander had forfeited or abdicated his rights as metropolitan, John of Antioch took it upon himself to ordain some bishops for the Euphratensian province; and the proceeding called forth a loud remonstrance, both as being an invasion of jurisdiction, and on account of the personal character of the new bishops. Nine provinces of the Antiochene patriarchate renounced communion with John, who at length called in the aid of the secular power to eject such bishops as refused to accede to his agreement with Cyril.[f]

Theodoret was prepared to withdraw into a monastery; but the urgent entreaties of his flock prevailed on him to seek an interview with John, and he agreed to retain his see on condition of being excused from condemning Nestorius or his opinions.[g] Alexander, however, continued to resist all importunities; he declared that if all the dead were to rise and testify in favour of the Egyptian doctrines, he must yet follow the light of his own conscience, and reject them.[h] It was in vain that Theodoret endeavoured either to mitigate the sternness of his resolution or to prevail with John that the law might not be

[d] Baluz. 766-7, 795, 823; Giesel. I. ii. 151.
[e] Baluz. 800, &c.
[f] Tillem. xiv. 523, 554-6, 573-9; Neand. iv. 178-81.
[g] Baluz. 847, 859; Tillem. xiv 580 5 xv. 250; Neand. iv. 183
[h] Baluz. 866.

enforced against a man so greatly revered; the aged bishop was ejected from Hierapolis, and was banished to the mines of Famothim, in Egypt, while his clergy and people displayed their grief at his removal by closing for a time all the churches of the diocese.[i] Other recusant bishops were driven from their sees by military force, and by such means a general conformity was established throughout the east in the year 435.[k]

April, 435.

The original author of these commotions was, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Celestine with the emperor,[l] allowed to remain nearly four years in his retirement at Antioch, where he was treated with great respect,[m] and enjoyed the correspondence of his friends. On the death of Maximian, in 434, the partisans of Nestorius demanded that he should be reinstated in the bishoprick of Constantinople; and so serious was the danger of an outbreak that the emperor hastened to fill up the vacancy by nominating Proclus, who was installed while the late bishop was yet unburied.[n] The demonstration at Constantinople may probably have served to bespeak attention to a representation which John of Antioch made in the following year, that Nestorius persisted in his blasphemies and was perverting many from the faith; whereupon an edict was issued, commanding that all the heresiarch's books should be burnt, that his followers

[i] Pagi, vii. 466-7, 476-7; Tillem. xiv. 582-5, 592-8, 601-3; Dupin, iv. 313-15.

[k] Tillem. xiv. 604; Fleury, xxvi. 33; Walch, v. 634-8.

[l] Hard. i. 1673, 1675.

[m] Pagi in Baron. vii. 402; Tillem. xiv. 494, 607; Walch, v. 559; Schröckh, xviii. 280-1.

[n] See Socr. vii. 35-6, 40; Tillem. xiv. 571-3; xv. 706-7. Tillemont remarks that such a nomination was awkward as a precedent, but that, as the love of the people for Proclus was well known, it was an anticipation of their choice, not an usurpation of their rights. Proclus had been set aside after the deposition of Nestorius, on account of the canonical objection to translations. But on an investigation of the case, it was declared that, as he had never obtained possession of the see to which he was consecrated (see p. 174), the objection did not apply to him. Soc. l. c.

should be called Simonians, "even as the Arians were styled Porphyrians by a law of Constantine of blessed memory," and that their meetings should be suppressed.[o] His property was seized, and he was sentenced to be banished to Petra for life;[p] but (apparently before this sentence had been executed) the place of his exile was changed to the Great Oasis.[q] There he employed himself in composing a history of his troubles; but after a time he was carried off by the Blemmyes, a wild tribe of marauders who devastated the Oasis. The old man was dismissed by his captors as useless, and surrendered himself to an imperial officer in Egypt, who inhumanly caused him to be hurried from place to place until he sank under the treatment. A writer quoted by Evagrius relates that his tongue was eaten up by worms, and that so he "departed to everlasting torment," while other authors of kindred spirit are not content with less than a living putrefaction of the heresiarch's whole body.[r]

Fresh discords broke out in the east on the subject of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Diodore of Tarsus. The memory of these teachers had some years before been attacked by Rabula, bishop of Edessa, who, after having acted with the orientals at Ephesus, made himself conspicuous by the vehemence with which he espoused the opposite side.[s] Now that Nestorianism was formally suppressed, Cyril resolved to make an attempt against the authority of Diodore and Theodore, whose writings were diligently read by the Nestorians since those of their

Easter, 432.

A.D. 437.

[o] Cod. Theod. XVI. v. 66. See vol. i. p. 293.

[p] Hard. i. 1669.

[q] Ib. 1715-18; Tillem. xiv. 608-9.

[r] Evagr. i. 7; Theod. Lector, ii. 38; Theophanes, p. 142; Baron. 436. 9; Gibbon, iv. 350-1; Neand. iv. 188-90. The death of Nestorius is generally placed about A.D. 440, and the story that he lived till the synod of Chalcedon (A.D. 451), and was summoned to sit in it, is supposed to have been invented by the Eutychians for the purpose of discrediting that council. See Walch, vi. 461; Gibbon, iv. 351; Giesel. I. ii. 347.

[s] Hard. i. 1634; Tillem. xiv. 504-5.

nominal leader had been forbidden. The attempt was eagerly urged on by a strong monastic party; and Rabula with other bishops took part in it.[t] Proclus of Constantinople extracted some propositions from the works of Theodore, and, without naming the source, proposed that they should be generally condemned;[u] but the authorship was betrayed by some over-zealous agents, and the name of Theodore, which was generally revered throughout the east, excited a commotion.[x] A synod of bishops, held at Antioch, while they approved of Proclus' doctrine, appealed to Theodosius against a condemnation of one who had done important services to the church; they said that the language quoted from Theodore had been used by him in controversy with Arians and Eunomians, and ought to be interpreted with a fair consideration of its object;[y] and the emperor, in consequence of this appeal, recommended that nothing should be done against the memory of men who had deserved well of the church and had died in its communion. Proclus withdrew from the affair, declaring that he had not intended any censure against the person of Theodore; and Cyril himself at length found it expedient to desist from the prosecution of his attempt, and to profess himself satisfied with the condemnation of Theodore's errors which was implied in the sentence against Nestorius.[z] He afterwards wrote against Theodore, and was answered by Theodoret.

Although suppressed within the empire, Nestorianism found a refuge beyond its bounds. At Edessa there was a flourishing school of clergy for the Persian church. Its head, Ibas, was favourable to Nestorius, and translated some works of Diodore and Theodore into Syriac. Rabula, in 435, broke up the institution; but Ibas, on

[t] Cyrill. Epp. pp. 197-8; Tillem. xiv. 624-8; xv. 256; Walch, v. 639-40.

[u] Procl. Ep. ad Armenos, ap. Hard. i. 1723, seqq.

[x] Cyrill. Epp. p. 197.

[y] Ib. 192-3, 200.

[z] Ib. 200; Tillem. xiv. 628-42; Dupin, iv. 318; Neand. iv. 192-5.

succeeding him as bishop, re-established it,[a] and it continued to flourish until the reign of Zeno, by whom it was finally suppressed in 485.[b] From this seminary Nestorianism was propagated in Persia and India; and the doctrine continued to exercise a powerful influence on the Christianity of the east.

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## CHAPTER IV.

### EUTYCHIANISM.—THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON.—ADVANCE OF THE ROMAN SEE.

I. WHEN Dalmatius went to the palace of Constantinople for the purpose of representing the case of Cyril and the Ephesian council,[a] one of the most remarkable persons among the multitude which accompanied him was Eutyches, abbot of a large monastery near the city. Like Dalmatius, he had at that time remained nearly fifty years within the walls of his retreat, and had resolved never to leave them; but he considered the peril of the faith a sufficient ground for breaking through his determination.[b] Eutyches was generally revered for sanctity, and was highly regarded by Cyril on account of his zeal against Nestorianism: but he appears to have been a person of narrow understanding and of obstinate temper.[c] He was himself soon to give name to a heresy which produced a longer controversy, more complicated dissensions, and a more disastrous schism than the errors which he so warmly opposed.[d]

[a] Theod. Lector, ii. 5; Tillem. xiv. 506, 564; Giesel. I. ii. 153.

[b] Theod. Lect. ii. 49; Tillem. xvi. 373; Schröckh, xviii. 307-11; Dorner, ii. 87.

[a] P 194.

[b] Labb. iv. 191, 201, 206. See Walch, vi. 32.

[c] Labb. iv. 36, b.; Tillem. xv. 486-7. Comp. Schröckh, xviii. 438.

[d] Ib. 435-6. The Eutychian controversy, and those which arose out of

Notwithstanding the formal reconciliation which had been established, a difference of opinion, and mutual suspicions, continued to exist between the Egyptian and the Syrian schools. The Syrians considered the Egyptians to be tainted with Apollinarianism, and were in their turn regarded by them as Nestorians. The monks in general were violent against Nestorianism, which they were fond of imputing to their ecclesiastical superiors, and to all others who neglected to court their favour. Imperfectly understanding the system to which they professed to adhere, they exaggerated the Alexandrian forms of expression, and, under pretence of reverence for divine mysteries, made use of words which seemed to annihilate the Saviour's humanity. They spoke of it as "absorbed in his Godhead, like a drop of honey in the ocean";[e] some of them were grossly Apollinarian in their language.[f] Theodoret, perceiving that this tendency, even if it did not introduce positive heresy, must throw back Theology into the undefined state from which the writers and the councils of more than two centuries had been labouring to deliver it, wrote in 447 a dialogue in three books, entitled 'Eranistes' (The Man of Scraps)—so called because he considered the opinions which he combated to be no new invention, but, like a beggar's coat, a patchwork of fragments collected from various quarters.[g] The doctrines which he maintained in this work as to the unchangeableness, distinctness, and impassibility of the Redeemer's Godhead were made by his enemies the foundation for charging him with holding *two* Sons; and Theodoret, with Ibas of Edessa, and Irenæus

it, fill three volumes (vi.-viii.), averaging about 1000 pages each, in Walch's laborious and inconceivably tedious 'Historie der Ketzereien.'

[e] Theodoret. Eran. ii. t. iv. p. 77.

[f] Dupin, iv. 328; Walch, vi. 100 Neand. iv. 199; Giesel. I. ii. 155. See note in Fleury, iii. 345; Dorner, ii. 62.

[g] Theod. t. iv. p. 2. See Dorner, ii. 101-3.

of Tyre, was marked out by the monastic party for special vengeance.[h]

Dioscorus, who in 444 succeeded Cyril as bishop of Alexandria, is said to have borne a high character before his elevation,[i] but afterwards showed himself violent, tyrannical, rapacious, and scandalously immoral. He had with him the favour of the court, and especially that of Chrysaphius, the eunuch who held sway over the feeble Theodosius; and he kept up an extensive correspondence with those monks in Syria and elsewhere who were ill affected towards their bishops.[k] Dioscorus took offence at Theodoret for having signed a synodical letter of Proclus,—an act which, according to the Alexandrian bishop, implied an acknowledgment of the precedence of Constantinople, or even of its jurisdiction over the Syrian patriarchate; he charged him with Nestorian heresy, and, although Theodoret disavowed and condemned the errors imputed to him, he uttered an anathema against him.[l] The secular power was set in motion against the bishop of Cyrus; in 447 or 448 an imperial edict was issued, which accused him of exciting disturbances by holding frequent meetings, and ordered him to confine himself to his diocese.[m] About the same time Ibas was harassed with accusations by the monastic party, but succeeded in making his peace.[n] The orientals attempted to vindicate their orthodoxy by sending a deputation to court, of which the result is not recorded.[o]

A.D. 447.

A.D. 448-9.

A rumour arose that Eutyches, in the eagerness of his

[a] Tillem. xv. 269, 270-2, 481-3; Schröckh, xviii. 418-19; Neand. iv. 201. As to Irenæus, see Tillem. xv. 265-7; as to Ibas, Walch, vi. 54.

[i] See Theodoret, Ep. 60 (t. iii.).

[k] Fleury, xxvii. 3; Tillem. xv. 434-7, 481-3; Neand. iv. 198-9.

[l] Theod. Epp. 82-6; t. v. pp. 101, seqq.

[m] Epp. 79-82; Tillem. xv. 273-5, 278-80.

[n] Ib. 465-79; Walch, vi. 54-78; Schröckh, xv. 438-9.

[o] Theod. Epp. 95, 101-3; Tillem. xv. 289-486.

opposition to Nestorianism, had vented unsound opinions on the doctrine of the Incarnation. Domnus, bishop of Antioch, made a representation on the subject to Flavian of Constantinople, charging Eutyches with Apollinarianism and with confounding the Saviour's natures; but as the Syrian accusers lay under a suspicion of Nestorianism, the charge met with little or no attention.[p] In 448, however, at a meeting of the local synod of Constantinople,[q] which was attended by about thirty bishops, Eusebius of Dorylæum (the same who had been the first to oppose Nestorius)[r] denounced Eutyches as a heretic, stating that he had in vain endeavoured by private conference to convince him of his errors, and desiring that an inquiry should be made into the abbot's opinions.[s]

About A.D. 447.

Flavian, the successor of Proclus, knowing the powerful interests by which Eutyches was likely to be supported,[t] and dreading a general disturbance of the church, endeavoured to dissuade Eusebius from proceeding, but was obliged reluctantly to grant the investigation.[u] At the first summons Eutyches refused to appear before the council, alleging his resolution not to quit his monastery; but he was told that this was no reasonable excuse, and was reminded of the part which he had taken in the Nestorian controversy.[x] After repeated citations he

[p] Facund. pro Tribus Capp. viii. 5; xii. 5 (Patrol. lxvii.); Walch, vi. 102, 105. Some place this as early as 441.

[q] Σύνοδος ἐνδημοῦσα—a council composed of such bishops as happened to be in the capital. See below, p. 229.

[r] See p. 180.

[s] Hard. ii. 110-12; Tillem. xv. 494-7.

[t] There is a story that, on the appointment of Flavian to his see (A.D. 446), Chrysaphius sent to demand *eulogiæ* (benedictions) from him—this being the name given to the presents which were made in consideration of influence employed in such matters; and that Flavian offended the eunuch either by sending him the church-plate, in order to shame him, or by sending some blessed loaves of the kind called *eulogiæ* (see below, c. viii. sect. iv. 5), and, on being told that gold was required, by answering that he had none but the sacred vessels, since the funds of the church belonged to God and his poor. Evagr. ii. 2; Tillem. xv. 446.

[u] Hard. ii. 112-13.

[x] Ib. 144, 149.

made his appearance, attended by a large body of monks and soldiers, whose protection he professed to think necessary for his safety, and accompanied by the patrician Florentius, who, by a remarkable innovation, was commissioned to assist at the trial on the ground that it was a question of faith,[y] whereas in all previous controversies the imperial commissioners had been restricted to the regulation of external matters.[z] On being questioned, Eutyches professed that he held the Nicene faith, and cited a prohibition which the council of Ephesus had uttered against the imposition of any other formulary.[a] He said that there were two natures in Christ before his incarnation;[b] he admitted, although with hesitation, the phrase that Christ is "consubstantial with us according to his flesh," as well as with the Father according to his Godhead.[c] But his answers were equivocal and unsatisfactory. He stated that he held only "one incarnate nature of God the Word"—a phrase for which he referred to the authority of Athanasius and of Cyril.[d] He professed an unwillingness to define, a reverence for Scripture, and a wish not to go beyond it; and he refused to anathematize the errors of which he was suspected, although he professed himself willing to accept in part the language opposed to them.[e] The synod found his statements insufficient, and pronounced him guilty of renewing the errors of Valentinus

Nov. 22, 448.

[y] Hard. ii. 160.

[z] Tillem. xv. 506-8; Schröckh, xviii. 443-4; Neand. iv. 206.

[a] Conc. Ephes. c. 7.

[b] This might have been interpreted as meaning a pre-existence of the Saviour's humanity,—thus making two *persons* in Christ, which is the error imputed to Nestorius; but the real meaning of Eutyches evidently was, that he acknowledged an abstract human nature as well as the impersonate Divinity—that the two were distinct in *conception*. Tillem. xv. 489-90; Neand. iv. 207.

[c] Hard. ii. 164-5.

[d] Ib. 168. See above, p. 175. Pétau says that there may be three senses of this expression, and that Eutyches had not the penetration to discriminate between the sound and the unsound meanings. De Incarn. I. xiv. 6-8; IV. vi. viii.

[e] Tillem. xv. 500, 509-12; Neand iv. 207-8; Giesel. I. ii. 155-7.

and Apollinarius; he was sentenced to deprivation of his abbacy and to deposition from the priesthood; and he and all who should adhere to him were declared excommunicate.[f] It would seem that there was some confusion in the proceedings of this council. Eutyches afterwards complained of it as unfair, and asserted that he had appealed from it to the judgment of Rome, Alexandria, and Jerusalem;[g] but his appeal was not made in the form or at the time which were necessary to give it technical validity.[h]

Eutyches busied himself in writing to bishops and others in all directions. By way of accounting for his refusal to acknowledge the two natures, he alleged that he was apprehensive of contravening the council of Ephesus by exceeding the definitions of the Nicene creed. He loudly complained of injustice, and urged that a general council should be summoned.[i] His monks adhered to him in defiance of the sentence, and were put under a sort of interdict by Flavian for their contumacy;[k] while Dioscorus, contrary to all canonical order, admitted Eutyches to communion, and acknowledged him both as a priest and as an abbot.[l] But the condemnation which had been pronounced was received with general approval. Leo, bishop of Rome, a man of great ability and energy, who was bent on asserting all the real or imaginable privileges of his see, on receiving representations of the case from Theodosius and Eutyches, wrote to Flavian, professing surprise that

[f] Hard. ii. 168.

[g] Inter Epp. Leon. 21.

[h] Ib.; Evagr. i. 9; Schröckh, xviii. 445-6. It will be observed that Antioch was excluded from this appeal. Rome was probably included from a belief that, as on former occasions, it would side with the monastic party. Neand. iv. 210.

[i] Eutych. ap. Leon. Ep. xxi. 1; Pet. Chrysolog. ad Eutych. (Patrol. liii. 24); Tillem. xv. 522-3.

[k] Labb. iv. 278.

[l] Ib. 463. Tillemont strangely says that the enmity between Alexandria and Constantinople was so old that it could not have entered into the motives of Dioscorus. xv. 524-5.

*he* had not before reported it; but on receiving the patriarch's explanation and the acts of the late synod, he expressed his satisfaction with the decision.[m] Theodosius attempted to bring about a reconciliation between Flavian and Eutyches, but his endeavours were ineffectual. The patriarch, in answer to a question as to his own faith, admitted the expression, "one nature of the incarnate Word,"[n] on the ground that the person of Christ is one, and he anathematized Nestorius; but he would not allow the sufficiency of the Nicene creed to shelter Eutyches in the opinions which had been condemned.[o] The opponents of Eutyches deprecated the assembling of a general council, as being unnecessary in so clear a case, and as likely to throw the whole church into confusion. The dominant eunuch Chrysaphius, however, favoured the proposal, and citations were issued, by which the chief bishop of each eastern diocese was required to take with him ten metropolitans and ten other bishops.[p] The council was packed with gross unfairness. An imperial letter, after mentioning in a tone of disapproval the proceedings of Flavian against Eutyches, declared that the assembly had been summoned in order to root out the remains of Nestorianism—as if the later heresy were not in question.[q] The bishops who had taken part in the judgment on Eutyches, and the orientals who had been suspected of Nestorianism, were not to be allowed any voice; while Barsumas, a Syrian abbot, was to have a seat and the privileges of a

A.D. 449.

[m] Epp. 23, 26-7 (Patrol. liv.).

[n] Hard. ii. 8. This was admitted in order to save the honour of Athanasius and Cyril. Schröckh, xviii. 452.

[o] Labb. iv. 16.

[p] Hard. ii. 72. Bishop Hefele is clearly wrong in inferring that the number of metropolitans in Egypt was ten, from the fact that the same number was mentioned in the citation to the Alexandrian patriarch as to the others (i. 375). Tillemont says that Egypt had but eight metropolitans (xv. 528); Dr. Neale that it had none ('Holy Eastern Church—Alexandria,' i. 290. But compare his Introduction, i 112-13). See above, p. 192, n. 5.

[q] Hard. ii. 77-9.

bishop, as representing the malcontent monastic party.[r] Theodoret was expressly forbidden to attend the council, unless his presence should be unanimously desired by its members.[s] Two lay officers, the counts Elpidius and Eulogius, were commissioned to keep order, and to imprison any persons who might be refractory.[t]

The council met in the same church at Ephesus in Aug. 8, 449. which the third general council had sat eighteen years before. A hundred and twenty-six bishops were present at the opening. Dioscorus had with him a large train of monks and parabolani, and Barsumas appeared at the head of a thousand rabid monks, prepared to coerce the assembly by their violence.[u] Leo, after having in vain endeavoured that it might be held in Italy, had excused himself from appearing, on the ground that the Roman bishops were not accustomed to attend councils beyond the seas, and also on account of the political troubles of his country.[x] He deputed three legates as his representatives, and sent by them a document which, under the name of his 'Tome,' or 'Letter to Flavian,'[y] became very famous in the controversy. In this the entireness and yet the distinctness of the two natures united in the Saviour were defined with an ability, a command of Scripture proof, and a copiousness of illustration for which it has been thought necessary to account by fables as to the circumstances in which Leo composed the letter, and by ascribing the final revision of it to the apostle St. Peter.[z]

[r] Hard. ii. 76; Baron. 449. 29-30; Walch, vi. 202-3, 253-4.

[s] Hard. ii. 72. See a letter of Theodoret's when the council was in prospect. Ep. 112.

[t] Hard. ii. 76-7.

[u] Tillem. xv. 552-3; Neand. iv. 213.

[x] Ep. xxxi. 4; Pagi, viii. 10; Tillem. xv. 538-9, 549, 902.

[y] Ep. 28.

[z] Moschus, Prat. Spirit. 147 (Patrol. lxxiv., or Patrol. Gr. lxxxvii. pt. 3); Baron. 449. 40, 46-58. "He leid the lettir upon Seint Petir auter, praying to Seynt Petir that if onything were wrong writen, Seint Petir shuld amend it, and aftir iii days, he found it rased, and amended aftir the plesauns of God." (Capgrave, Chron. of England, 86, London, 1858.) Gennadius says of

Dioscorus assumed the presidency of the council, in virtue of an imperial rescript. Next to him was placed the Roman legate, Julius; after whom were the bishops of Jerusalem and of Antioch, the regular order of their precedence being reversed; while Flavian was degraded from the position assigned to his see by the second general council, to the fifth place in the assembly.[a] The proceedings were violent and disorderly from the beginning. Dioscorus turned out all reporters but those of his own party,[b] and, although Leo's letter was received by the council, he contrived to prevent the reading of it.[c] Eutyches presented a petition, giving his account of the previous transactions, and praying, not for his own restoration—for that he supposed to be secured by the Alexandrian acknowledgment of him—but for the punishment of his enemies.[d] Flavian requested that the accuser, Eusebius of Dorylæum, should be heard, but was rebuked by the commissioner Elpidius for interfering, and was told that the opponents of Eutyches had already had their opportunity of speaking at Constantinople.[e] The acts of the Constantinopolitan synod were read,[f] and whenever any one of its members was reported to have spoken of *two natures*, there were loud outcries from the monks and the multitude—"Nestorian! Tear

Prosper of Aquitaine—"Epistolæ papæ Leonis adversus Eutychen, de vera Christi incarnatione, ad diversos datæ et ab ipso dictatæ dicuntur." (De Scriptt. Eccl. 84; Patrol. lviii.); and some have understood him to mean the letter to Flavian. But it is generally believed to be Leo's own work. See Patrol. lviii. 1108; liv. 753; Marcellinus, A.D. 463 (ib. li.). For a criticism on the letter, see Dorner, ii. 109-13.

[a] Hard. ii. 80; Labbe, iv. 116. See Barrow, 455. Liberatus says that the Roman legates claimed the presidency, but that the claim was not allowed. c. 2 (Patrol. lxviii. 1004).

[b] Labb. iv. 128.

[c] Leo, Ep. xlv. 2; Hard. ii. 88.

[d] Hard. ii. 104-5.

[e] Ib. 106.

[f] Eutyches had accused Flavian of falsifying these acts. An investigation had consequently been held by a commission of bishops and civil officers, but nothing had been proved against the correctness of the report. Hard. ii. 172, seqq.; Evagr. i. 9; Tillem. xv 533-8; Schröckh, xviii. 455-6; Hefele, ii 322-30.

him asunder! Burn him alive! As he divides, so let him be divided!"[g] It was agreed that Eutyches should be acknowledged as orthodox, together with his monks, who in insolent language demanded that Flavian should be punished as he had punished them.[h] The prohibition which the council of Ephesus had passed against adding to the Nicene faith was often appealed to; but with an evident perversion of its meaning, since it had not in reality been intended to exclude any explanation of articles in which the creed might be misrepresented. An anathema against Nestorius was proposed. Dioscorus desired that all who could not make their shouts heard should stretch out their hands in token of assent; and the anathema was pronounced amid cries of "Drive out, burn, tear, cut asunder, massacre—all who hold two natures."[i] Some of the bishops who had sat in the council of Constantinople quailed before the storm, and retracted the words which they had formerly used.[k]

Dioscorus then demanded whether those who contravened the canons of the council of Ephesus and the Nicene creed did not deserve punishment, and, having received from the bishops an answer of assent, he produced a sentence against Flavian and Eusebius. Flavian protested against being judged by him, and gave into the hands of the Roman legates an appeal to Rome and the west.[l] A number of bishops gathered round Dioscorus, and on their knees implored him to proceed no further; but disregarding their entreaties he exclaimed "Call in the counts!" and the proconsul of Asia entered, attended by soldiers and monks, with swords, clubs, and chains. The bishops in terror attempted to hide them-

[g] Hard. ii. 161, &c.
[h] Ib. 236-8.
[i] Labb. iv. 114, 160.
[k] Ib. 114.
[l] Labb. iv 106; Leo, Ep xliv 3. Against the idea that he appealed to the pope alone, see Barrow, 593; Tillem. xv. 568; Dupin, iv. 342; Walch, vi. 257-60.

selves in corners of the church or under benches; but they were dragged out, and with threats, abusive language, and blows were compelled to sign the condemnation of Flavian,—or rather a blank sheet, on which the sentence was afterwards to be copied.[m] It is said that Dioscorus and Barsumas struck Flavian on the face, kicked him, and stamped on him;[n] and, although the report of these savage acts may be an exaggeration, it seems to be certain that, in consequence of the treatment which he received in the council, the patriarch of Constantinople died within a few days, on his way to a place of banishment.[o] Eusebius of Dorylæum was deposed and imprisoned, but found means of escaping to Rome.[p] Theodoret and Ibas, although confined to their own dioceses, were cited, and in their absence were condemned as heretics.[q] Domnus, bishop of Antioch, who had weakly consented to the earlier acts of the council, was at last deposed on the charge of approving a Nestorian sermon, which was said (probably without truth) to have been preached in his presence by Theodoret. He retired into a monastery, and made no attempt to recover his see.[r] One of the Roman legates had died on his way to the council.[s] Of the survivors, it seems probable that the elder, Julius, bishop of Puteoli, was overpowered, and consented to the proceedings of Dioscorus;[t] but the

[m] Hard. ii. 216; Liberat. 12; Tillem. xv. 559, 570-2. There are 149 signatures—ten of them made by proxy.

[n] Evagrius (ii. 2) says that Eusebius of Dorylæum accused Dioscorus of acting thus. Schröckh would seem to have overlooked the passage when he named Theophanes, a writer of the ninth century, as the oldest authority for the story. xviii. 465.

[o] Liberat. 12; Nat. Alex. ix. 167; Tillem. xv. 570-3, 905-6; Walch, vi. 265.

[p] Tillem. xv. 574.

[q] Theod. Ep. 116.

[r] Evagr. i. 10. The council of Chalcedon, on the motion of his successor, Maximus, admitted him to lay communion, and assigned him an allowance out of the revenues of Antioch. (Append. ad Leonis Opera, Patrol. lv. 732-4; Hard. ii. 544; see Hefele, i. 483.) Liberatus says that he was condemned for having censured Cyril's anathemas as obscure. c. 12 (Patrol. lxviii. 1005).

[s] See Dupin, iv. 339; Walch, vi. 251-2.

[t] Leo, however, speaks as if they had both protested. Epp. xliv. 2; xlv. 2, &c. So Liberatus, c. 12.

younger, Hilary, then a deacon, and afterwards Leo's successor, met them with a spirited and resolute opposition, which so provoked the Eutychian party that he was obliged to abscond from Ephesus, and to travel by unfrequented ways to Rome.[u]

Theodosius, by edicts which bore the name of the western emperor as well as his own, confirmed the decisions of the council, taxing the deposed bishops with Nestorianism, and ordering that their writings should be burnt, and that no one should give shelter to them or to their followers.[x] In the face of these edicts, Leo with a Roman synod declared the proceedings at Ephesus invalid. The assembly, he said, was not a council, but a meeting of robbers[y]—a name which was generally adopted and has continued to be used in designating it; and he applied, although in vain, to Theodosius for a fresh council, to be held in Italy.[z] Early in the following year, a visit which Valentinian, with his wife and mother, paid to Rome—probably at the festival of St. Peter's Chair—afforded the pope another opportunity of urging his cause. As the imperial party entered the church of the apostle, Leo appeared at the head of a large company of bishops, and, prostrating himself on the floor, represented with tears the miserable distractions of the oriental church, where Egypt, Thrace, and Palestine were arrayed against Syria, Pontus, and Asia;[a] he implored Valentinian and the princesses to intercede with the eastern emperor that the sentences against Flavian and others might be annulled, and that a new general council might be assembled in

Feb. 22 (?) A.D. 450.

[u] Leo, Ep. xliv. 2; xlv. 2; Hilar. ib. xlvi. See Tillem. xv. 568, 577; Acta SS., Sept. 10, pp. 554-8. Hilary dedicated a chapel adjoining the baptistery of the Lateran "To his deliverer, St. John the Evangelist," in token of gratitude for his escape from the church over which the apostle had presided. Acta SS., Sept. 10, p. 572; Gregorov. ii. 150.

[x] Labb. iv. 863.

[y] "Latrocinium." Ep. xcv. 2.

[z] Epp. 43, 45, 54.

[a] Tillem. xv. 519-92.

Italy. To this prayer they assented, and they fulfilled their promise by writing to Theodosius and Pulcheria. But Theodosius was persuaded to reply that he had not innovated on the faith; that the proceedings of the late synod had been fair; that it had produced excellent effects; and that the east was now united in the profession of the true doctrine.[b]

The sudden death of Theodosius, which took place a few months later, was followed by important changes in ecclesiastical matters. Pulcheria had always been opposed to the Eutychian party, and had kept up a correspondence with Leo.[c] The minister Chrysaphius was put to death. Marcian united with his empress in the wish to favour orthodoxy, and expressed his willingness to summon a general council.[d] Leo desired that the assembly might be held in Italy, and that it might not discuss matters of faith—since these had been already sufficiently settled—but might limit itself to a consideration of the questions as to the bishops who had been condemned.[e] In this the pope evidently aimed at the advancement of the Roman authority by obtaining an acknowledgment of his letter to Flavian as the standard of orthodoxy on the Incarnation.[f] But Marcian also had an object in appointing a place of meeting within his own dominions; and to this determination he steadily adhered.

July, 450.

Anatolius, an Alexandrian, had been consecrated by Dioscorus for Constantinople, and requested the communion of Rome. As the see had become vacant by the death of Flavian, there was no irregularity in the appointment of his successor; Leo, therefore, expressed a

[b] The letters to Theodosius and Pulcheria are in the collection of Leo's Epistles, 55-9; the answers, 62-4.

[c] Tillem. xv. 597-600.

[d] Ap. Leon. Epp. 73, 76.

[e] Epp. 82-3, 94; Evagr. ii. 2.

[f] Walch, vi. 323-4; Schröckh, xviii. 469-70; Neand. iv. 222. In behalf of Leo, see Hefele, ii. 387-9.

willingness to acknowledge the new patriarch, if he would give a satisfactory statement of his faith, and would anathematize all who taught amiss on the subject of the Incarnation. The application of Anatolius was recommended by a letter from Marcian; and on signing the epistle to Flavian, he was admitted by Leo to communion.[g]

The enemies of Theodoret had succeeded by means of bribery in procuring an imperial edict which ordered that his books should be burnt, and that no one should read them or give him shelter.[h] He remained in retirement in a monastery at Apamea, from which he wrote to Leo, asking whether he ought to submit to the judgment of the Ephesian council, and begging for an acknowledgment of his orthodoxy, in proof of which he appealed to his numerous writings and to his labours for the faith.[i] His case was examined by a council at Rome, and Leo granted him communion.[k] In the beginning of 451, Marcian allowed the banished bishops to return from their exile; but he reserved the question of their restoration to their sees for the consideration of the general council, which was appointed to meet at Nicæa on the 1st of September.[l]

Although Leo had been unable to contrive that the council should assemble in Italy, or to limit the subject of its discussions, he resolved to turn it to the best advantage. He had already sent a bishop and a presbyter into the east, on account of the negotiations with Anatolius and other bishops who desired his communion;[m] and to these envoys he now added another of each order.

[g] Epp. Leon. 69-71, 80, 83; Tillem. xv. 587-9, 607-8, 617.

[h] Theod. t. iv. p. 703; Epp. 119, 140.

[i] Ep. 113, or in Leo, Ep. 52. That Theodoret did not mean to appeal to the pope alone, but to all western bishops, see Tillemont, xv. 294; Barrow, 595-9. His letter, amidst all the celebration of the Roman *primacy* which his circumstances rendered natural, gives no hint of a *supremacy*.

[k] Pagi, viii. 61; Tillem. xv. 305, 636.

[l] Hard. ii. 45; Evagr. ii. 2.

[m] Epp. 83-6.

His instructions to the legates were in a very lofty style: they were to assume the presidency of the council; nothing was to be transacted except in their presence; they were not to admit Dioscorus to appear as a judge, but only as an accused person. These orders the legates endeavoured to carry out; but, although much was allowed to them, they were not permitted to exercise that uncontrolled supremacy which their master intended.[n]

The opening of the council was delayed for some weeks, and the place of meeting was altered to Chalcedon, in order that it might be held under the eye of the emperor, who had promised to be present if it were in his power, but was prevented by public business from leaving Constantinople.[o] The number of bishops is traditionally stated at six hundred and thirty; the council itself reckons five hundred and twenty.[p] All were from the east, with the exception of Leo's envoys, and of two African bishops, who, however, do not appear to have been commissioned as representatives of their brethren.[q] The Roman legates and Anatolius of Constantinople sat as presidents of the clergy; but the real direction of the council was in the hands of the emperor's commissioners—nineteen civil officers, who had filled the highest dignities in the state.[r]

The first session was held on the 8th of October, in the church of St. Euphemia, a martyr under Diocletian, which was built on a gentle eminence without the walls of Chalcedon. Evagrius describes with enthusiasm the beauties of the situation and prospect, and adds curious statements as to miracles customarily performed at the church by the blood and other relics of the patroness.[s]

[n] Epp. 88-93; Tillem. xv. 631-4.

[o] Hard. ii. 49-52; Baron. 451. 30-3.

[p] See Dupin, iv. 346; Walch vi. 401-2.

[q] Tillem. xv. 640; Walch, vi. 403.

[r] Barrow, 457-61; Tillem. xv. 642-6; Planck, i. 685; Neand. iv. 224. See Hefele, i. 28-30; ii. 403-4.

[s] Evagr ii. 4. See Acta SS., Sept. 6

As soon as the members of the council had taken their places, the Roman legates rose, and, speaking in Latin, demanded that Dioscorus should not be allowed to sit as a judge; otherwise, they said, their instructions would oblige them to withdraw. The commissioners told them that, if they were to be judges, they must not make themselves parties; but, after some discussion, Dioscorus was desired to take a seat in the midst of the assembly, as a person under accusation.[t] Eusebius of Dorylæum then brought forward a petition charging Dioscorus with wrongs against himself, against the late bishop of Constantinople, and against the catholic faith—a document which had been presented to the emperor, and by him had been referred to the council.[u] By desire of both Eusebius and Dioscorus, the acts of the Latrocinium (which included those of the Constantinopolitan synod against Eutyches) were produced, and the reading of them was begun. On the occurrence of Theodoret's name in the acts, the commissioners ordered that he should be called in. Immediately a terrible uproar arose. The Egyptian party protested that to admit him, "the master of Nestorius," would be against the faith and the canons—that it would be a betrayal of Christ, and a driving out of St. Cyril. "Away with the Jew!" they shouted, "Away with the blasphemer, the Nestorian!" while their opponents, with equal zeal, exclaimed that Dioscorus should rather be ejected with his train of Manichæans and murderers; so that the commissioners felt it necessary to remind the bishops of the decency due to their own character. Theodoret was at length allowed to take his seat—not, however, as a judge but as a plaintiff; and the reading of the Ephesian acts was resumed.[x] While it was proceeding, Juvenal of Jerusalem, with the bishops of Palestine, left the position

[t] Hard. ii. 68. [u] Ib. 69. [x] Ib. 73; Tillem. xv. 648-50.

which they had taken up near the Egyptians, and removed to the opposite side of the church. Other bishops, who at Ephesus had acted with Dioscorus, followed, and were hailed by the orientals with shouts of "Welcome, orthodox!"[y] Even four of the Alexandrian primate's suffragans were among the deserters, and at last he was left with only thirteen Egyptian bishops to support him.[z] But Dioscorus continued to bear himself with unabated pride and with undaunted resolution. He demanded that his case should not be separated from that of the others who had shared in his proceedings; he often, with bitter sarcasm, denounced the tergiversation of his former allies;[a] he criticized the evidence with watchful acuteness; he told the members of the council that, in condemning him, they would condemn Athanasius, Gregory of Nazianzum, Cyril, and all the orthodox fathers.[b] He said that he acknowledged Christ to be "*of* two natures," but, on being pressed, he declined to use the form "*in* two natures"; thus refusing to own that the distinction of natures had subsisted after the incarnation. He protested that he cared for nothing but God and his own soul.[c]

Throughout the day there were continual outbursts of tumult, as passages occurred in the acts which excited the feelings of the hostile parties. Mutual anathemas were shouted forth against the asserters and the deniers of the two natures; the description of the scene might recall to our minds the tempests of modern republican assemblies rather than the ideal which we might have naturally formed of the church's greatest general council.

It was late before the reading of the first day's pro-

[y] Hard. ii. 129.
[z] Tillem. xv. 651-2.
[a] Hard. ii. 80.
[b] Ib. 132.
[c] Ib. 130.

ceedings at Ephesus was finished. The commissioners then said it was enough for one day to have cleared the memory of Flavian and Eusebius; that the emperor was resolved to adhere to the faith of Nicæa and Constantinople; that if he agreed in their view of the matter, the leaders in the proceedings at Ephesus ought to be deposed; but they left the decision to the consideration of the bishops.[d]

Dioscorus was committed to a guard, probably from an apprehension that he might secretly leave Chalcedon.

Oct. 13. At the third session of the council he was cited, but refused to appear, on the plea that he was under restraint; and when informed that he was at liberty to attend the council, he renewed his refusal on other grounds—especially that the imperial commissioners were not then present in the assembly.[e] Additional charges were preferred against him—chiefly affecting his administration of his office, and his private morals, which were so notoriously bad as even to afford themes for the ballad-singers of Alexandria;[f] and, after he had been thrice summoned without appearing, the legates pronounced their sentence,—that, because of the misdemeanours proved against him (among which they included some which do not appear to have been mentioned in the previous proceedings)—for his behaviour at Ephesus, for having dared to excommunicate "the most holy and most blessed archbishop of the great Rome, Leo,"[g] and for having disregarded the citations of the

[d] Hard. ii. 272-3; Evagr. ii. 4.

[e] Labb. iv. 383-6.

[f] Evagr. ii. 4; Hard. ii. 327, 336; Walch, vi. 349-54; Gibbon, iv. 355.

[g] Hard. ii. 324. Baronius (449. 168) places this excommunication at Alexandria, soon after the Latrocinium. Tillemont (xv. 203) rightly says that it was at Nicæa, but supposes it to have been pronounced during some visit to that city before Easter 450. There is, however, no record of any such visit, and it is in itself unlikely. Pagi (viii. 47), with great probability, thinks that the excommunication was uttered while Dioscorus and others were waiting at Nicæa for the opening of the council. Tillemont argues that Dioscorus was not then strong enough to venture on such an act. But the question is not

council, they, in the name of the Roman bishop and of St. Peter, with the council, declared him to be deprived of all sacerdotal office and dignity.[h] Anatolius and other bishops gave their judgment in succession, and the condemnation was signed by about three hundred members of the council. Some of these specified particular charges as the grounds of their assent; many rested it on the contempt with which Dioscorus had treated the citation (and this was the main reason assigned in the notification of the sentence to himself);[i] but the majority were content with professing to be guided by the opinion of the council, and very few made any reference to imputations on the faith of the accused. The condemnation was ratified by the emperor, and Dioscorus was banished to Gangra, in Paphlagonia, where he died in 454.[k]

Leo had sent to the council a copy of his letter to Flavian, and it had also been recommended to the attention of the members by Marcian; but, while the pope wished it to be received without question, as a standard of doctrine on the Incarnation, the emperor regarded it as a document subject to examination and discussion,[l] and was resolved that the faith should be settled by the authority of the council, not by the bishop of Rome.[m] His commissioners, therefore, proposed at the second session that a definition as to the faith should be set forth. Cecropius of Sebastople and others demurred; the faith, they said, had already been secured by the creeds of Nicæa and Constantinople, and by the letter to Flavian.[n] These documents, and Cyril's second letter to Nestorius,

October 10.

whether he was strong enough to give effect to his excommunication, but whether he was bold enough and desperate enough to pronounce it. Walch (vi. 291-2) is undecided.

[h] Hard. ii. 345; Evagr. ii. 4.

[i] Hard. ii. 377.

[k] Evagr. ii. 4; Schröckh, xviii. 476

[l] Walch, vi. 327-8.

[m] Ib. 445.

[n] Hard. ii. 284-5.

were then generally signed; but the imperial commissioners, resolved on carrying out their instructions, desired the bishops to adjourn for five days, and in the meantime to confer on the subject of a decree as to faith.[o]

At the fourth session (the deposition of Dioscorus having taken place at the third) the commissioners again urged their proposal. The Roman legates repeated the objection which had been already made—that the letter to Flavian and the creeds were sufficient. The members of the council were then individually asked whether the letter were agreeable to the earlier documents, and replied that it was so.[p] The thirteen Egyptian bishops who had adhered to Dioscorus entreated that they might not be required to subscribe the letter while the see of Alexandria was vacant; such, they said, was their subjection to their patriarch, that, if they should take it upon themselves to sign, their lives would not be safe on their return to Egypt. This prayer was seconded by the intercession of the commissioners, and, after a warm discussion, the Egyptians were allowed to remain at Constantinople until a new patriarch should be appointed to Alexandria.[q] At this meeting the bishops unanimously requested that Juvenal of Jerusalem and the other metropolitans who had shared in the proceedings of the Latrocinium should be pardoned, on the ground that they had acted under constraint. The request was referred to the emperor, and, with his assent, the desired forgiveness was granted.[r]

October 17.

At the fifth session, a decree as to faith was produced, and was received with various expressions of feeling.[s] But in the most critical point, instead of stating that Christ is "*in* two natures,"

October 22.

[o] Hard. ii. 309; Tillem. xv. 676-8.
[p] Hard. ii. 386, 413.
[q] Ib. 413-20.
[r] Ib. 413.
[s] Ib. 418; Tillem. xv. 677-8.

it used the expression "*of* two natures." As Dioscorus had deposed Flavian for the doctrine conveyed in the former phrase, and had himself declared his willingness to agree to the other, the definition (which had probably been framed in accordance with the emperor's wish to conciliate the Egyptian and monastic party)[t] was obviously insufficient. The legates said that, unless the words were brought into agreement with Leo's letter, they would return to Rome, and refer the matter to a western council. On this there were loud outcries against Nestorianism. The great body of the bishops exclaimed that the decree was dictated by the Holy Spirit, and must not be altered.[u] In answer to a remark by a commissioner, that Dioscorus had deposed Flavian for using the words "*in* two natures," Anatolius observed that Dioscorus had not been deposed for heresy, but for his excommunication of Leo and for his disobedience to the council's citations.[x] The emperor was consulted as to the course which should be taken, and suggested that a committee of bishops should confer with Anatolius and the Roman legates. The general feeling of the assembly was still against any further discussion; there were exclamations that those who did not like the definition might "go off to Rome"; but on being reminded by the commissioners that Dioscorus had consented to the words "*of* two natures," and asked whether they preferred Dioscorus or Leo, the bishops agreed to reconsider the matter.[y] Thus the decree was at length brought into its present form. It confirms the creeds of Nicæa and Constantinople, and the decisions of the general council of Ephesus; it adopts Leo's letter to Flavian as a bulwark alike against Nestorianism and the opposite error; and while recognizing the sufficiency of the existing

[t] See Dorner, ii. 121-7.
[u] Hard. ii. 447.
[x] Ib. 449. See Walch, vi. 428-30.
[y] Hard. ii. 449; Neand. iv. 226.

creeds, it defines, in opposition to the recent heresies, that Christ is "perfect alike in Godhead and in manhood; very God and very man, of a reasonable soul and human flesh; co-essential with the Father as to his Godhead, and co-essential with us as to his manhood; like to us in all things except sin . . . . . one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, only-begotten, to be acknowledged in two natures,[z] without confusion, change, division, or separation; the difference of the natures being in nowise taken away by reason of their union, but rather the properties of each nature being preserved, and concurring into one person and one hypostasis, not as it were divided or separated into two persons, but one and the same Son and only-begotten, God the Word."[a]

October 25. At the next (which was the sixth) session, Marcian and the empress[b] appeared, and were received by the bishops with loud acclamations, mixed with anathemas against Nestorius, Eutyches, and Dioscorus. The emperor made a speech, declaring his sanction of the decree of faith, and the document was generally subscribed.[c]

Theodoret signed the decree as bishop of Cyrus, but had not yet been restored to his see. Although the

[z] The Greek reads ἐκ δύο φύσεων—"*of* two natures." But it is generally agreed that this is a mistake. Evagrius (ii. 4. p. 291) and the Latin version have "*in* two natures"; and, after the previous discussions, it would seem that these words must have been in the decree, either instead of, or (as Dr. Routh thinks, 'Scriptorum Eccles. Opuscula,' ii. 119) together with, "*of* two natures." See Tillem. xv. 651; Giesel. I. ii. 161; note in Fleury, iii. 373; Hefele, ii. 451-3; and compare the Sixth General Council, in Hard. iii. 1400. Dorner, however, maintains the reading ἐκ, and thinks that it substantially conveys the same idea as ἐν —monophysitism being excluded by other words of the decree ("Christus ist aus zwei Naturen als Sohn zu erkennen" = "Christus ist als Sohn in zwei Naturen zu erkennen"). ii. 129.

[a] Hard. ii. 452-6; Routh, Script. Eccles. Opusc. ii. 75-80.

[b] Hard. ii. 463; Evagr. ii. 4. Tillem. (xv. 920) and Pagi (in Bar. viii. 31) argue that the statement as to Pulcheria is incorrect. But see Acta SS., Sept. 10, p. 530; Walch, vi. 404; Schröckh, xviii. 482; and note [n] Fleury, iii. 374.

[c] Hard. ii. 463-88.

Roman approval of his orthodoxy had been mentioned in the council, the fathers in the eighth session proceeded to an independent examination of his case.[d] On appearing, he was received with violent outcries from many of the bishops, and was called on to anathematize Nestorius. He attempted to state his faith, declaring that the recovery of his bishoprick was nothing to him in comparison of his reputation for orthodoxy. But the bishops would not listen to any explanation; and at length, after many vain attempts to overcome their clamour, he pronounced an anathema on Nestorius, with all who refuse the word *Theotokos*, or divide the two natures; whereupon he was acknowledged as orthodox and worthy of his see.[e] Ibas was also, not without some difficulty, restored to the bishoprick of Edessa.[f] It might have been supposed that Theodoret intended his anathema against the errors which were popularly imputed to Nestorius, without implying that the imputation was just; but, if the notice of Nestorius in one of his latest works be genuine, it would appear that he had changed his opinion as to the heresiarch himself.[g]

October 26.

The number of the council's sessions is variously reckoned, from twelve to fifteen or more.[h] Among its acts were two important regulations on the subject of ecclesiastical precedence and jurisdiction.

(1.) Agreeably to the principle of correspondence

[d] Hard. ii. 497; Barrow, 573-5; Walch, vi. 439.

[e] Hard. ii. 427-500; Pagi, viii. 106-7; Tillem. xv. 303-9, 603-4.

[f] Hard. ii. 504-44.

[g] 'Ad Sporacium, contra Nestorium,' (t. iv. 696-702) which is in great part the same with Hæret. Fabul. iv. 12. The genuineness of both is questioned by Garnier (ap. Theod. v. 250, seqq.) and others, but is maintained by Neander, iv. 229-31. See Dupin, iv. 103-5; Tillem. xv. 621; Schröckh, xviii. 11, 366-9, 374-5. It is not certain whether Theodoret resumed his see, or remained in his monastery, devoting himself to literary labour. He is supposed to have died about 457-8. Pagi, viii. 149-51; Dupin, iv. 85; Tillem. xv. 310-12, 875.

[h] Ib. 713; Schröckh, xviii. 482 Hefele says that there were 21 sittings on 14 days. ii. 223-4.

between the ecclesiastical and the civil division,[1] Palestine had been subject to the bishop of Cæsarea, the civil capital, as metropolitan. The see of Jerusalem was but an ordinary bishoprick; yet, on account of the sacred associations connected with the place, it had always enjoyed something of a peculiar reverence.[k] This undefined honour had been formerly sanctioned by the seventh Nicene canon, on the ground of "custom and ancient tradition"; and the importance of the holy city had since been increased by the growing practice of pilgrimage, which drew to it a vast confluence of visitors from all countries to which the Gospel had penetrated. Encouraged by these circumstances, Juvenal conceived the ambitious idea of not only freeing himself from the superiority of Cæsarea, but raising his see to the dignity of a patriarchate. His first attempt was made at the general council of Ephesus, where the bishop of Cæsarea was absent, while John of Antioch, to whom both Cæsarea and Jerusalem were perhaps subject,[l] was obnoxious as being the chief of the rival assembly. Relying on these favourable circumstances, Juvenal went so far as to assert that Antioch ought to be directed and judged by Jerusalem; but his pretensions were checked by Cyril, and were not revived until after the Alexandrian bishop's death.[m] At the "Latrocinium," where he was again favoured by the absence of the bishop of Cæsarea, and by the position of the Syrian patriarch Domnus (of whom, as we have seen,[n] he took precedence in the assembly), Juvenal renewed his claims; and he had subse-

[1] See vol. i. pp. 224, 429.

[k] Thomassin, I. i. 12; Tillem. xiv. 451-3; xv. 198-9; Bingham, II. xvi. 11; Hefele, i. 387-91. Against Blondel's notion that it was exempt from the jurisdiction of Cæsarea, see Tillem. xv. 200-1.

[l] Döllinger (i. 203) and Wiltsch (i. 204), however, think that the bishop of Cæsarea was probably autocephalous.

[m] Hard. i. 1489; Cyrill. Ep. p. 191; Tillem. xiv. 453; xv. 202-3. Cyril drew Rome into opposing Juvenal's attempts. Leo, Epp. cxix. 4.

[n] P. 213

quently obtained rescripts in his favour from the emperor.[o] The question now came before the council for final decision. Maximus of Antioch, although dissatisfied with the change, was disposed to agree to a compromise; and the fathers of Chalcedon assigned to Juvenal the dignity of a patriarch,[p] with jurisdiction over Palestine, while Arabia and the second Phœnicia, which had been included in Juvenal's claim, were left to the patriarch of Antioch, and the bishop of Cæsarea was allowed to retain the title of an honorary metropolitan.[q]

(2.) The twenty-eighth canon related to the see of Constantinople. The eastern emperors had found it their interest to exalt the bishops of their capital, in opposition to the power of metropolitans on the one hand, and of the Roman bishop on the other;[r] and the dignity and influence of the position had been continually increasing. An introduction by the bishop of Constantinople was necessary for such of his brethren as desired to be admitted into the imperial presence.[s] He presided over the "home synod," a permanent although fluctuating assembly, which was composed of such bishops as had been drawn by their affairs to the residence of the court, and to which the emperors were accustomed to refer appeals in ecclesiastical matters.[t] Although the canon of the second general council, which placed Constantinople next to Rome, did not bestow any jurisdiction, the bishops attempted to exercise patriarchal authority over Thrace, Asia, and Pontus;[u] they claimed the right, not only of

[o] Labbe, iv. 618; Tillem. xv. 204.

[p] Socrates is the earliest writer who uses this title in its modern sense. The council of Chalcedon is the first ecclesiastical authority for it. Bingham, II. xvii. 6.

[q] Labbe, iv. 611-18; Append. ad Leonis Opera, Patrol. lv. 731-4; Tillem. xv. 203-5, 686; Hefele, ii. 483-4.

[r] Barrow, 416; Giesel. I. ii. 189.

[s] Planck, i. 617-18.

[t] Tillem. xv. 703-4; Walch, vi. 145; note in Fleury, iii. 406.

[u] Schröckh, xvii. 27. Chrysostom's intervention at Ephesus (see p. 104) had been requested; but other bishops of Constantinople interfered of their own motion. (Wilstch, 140-2.) Now

ordaining, but even of nominating, the metropolitans and inferior bishops of these dioceses;[x] they even extended their interference into the patriarchate of Antioch, and became the general referees and arbitrators of the eastern church.[y]

The twenty-eighth canon of Chalcedon was intended as a compromise of the differences which had arisen from these pretensions. It ordered that the metropolitans only of the three dioceses should be ordained by the patriarchs of Constantinople, and that their ordination should not take place without a certificate of regular and undisputed election by their own suffragans.[z] The canon recognized the privileges bestowed by the second general council on "New Rome"; it referred these to the secular eminence of the city, declared that the privileges of the ancient capital itself rested on like grounds, and enacted that Constantinople ought "to be magnified in ecclesiastical matters even like the elder imperial Rome, as being next to it."[a] The canon was signed by about a hundred and eighty bishops—many of those who supposed themselves to be aggrieved by it standing aloof.

Nov. 1. On the following day, which was the last of the council, the Roman legates protested against it, as having been passed in their absence, and through a surprise practised on those who had been present. The charge of surprise was denied by the parties concerned; and the legates were reminded that they had been summoned to the meeting on the preceding day. They threatened to report the matter to their

Alexandre, however, argues that the jurisdiction *was* conferred by the second general council. viii. 182 9.

[x] Tillem. xv. 704. (The word *diocese* is here used in the sens explained at vol. i. p. 429.)

[y] Tillem. xv. 705-6; H fele, ii. 510-17.

[z] By bestowing the privilege of ordaining metropolitans on one patriarch, the council is to be understood as giving it to all—whereas it had before belonged to the suffragan bishops. Planck, i. 611.

[a] Hard. ii. 611-14.

master; to which the commissioners replied by calmly telling them that it had been decided by the synod.[b]

The emperor followed up the council by laws against the Eutychians,[c] forbidding them to hold meetings, to ordain clergy, and to build churches or monasteries, and inflicting various disabilities on them.[d] Leo, on receiving a report of the proceedings, expressed high approval of the decree as to faith, but no less indignation against the twenty-eighth canon. With a bold disregard of history,[e] he denied that the precedence of sees had depended on the importance of the cities in which they were. He asserted that the canon of the council of Constantinople had never been acted on or notified to the Roman see,[f] although (besides other instances to the contrary) his own legates in the first session had supported the complaint of those who cried out against the degradation of Flavian from the second place at the "Latrocinium."[g] He pretended that the new canon contradicted the Nicene council by subjecting Alexandria and Antioch to Constantinople; and he declared it to be annulled by the authority of St. Peter. He loudly complained of the ambition of Anatolius,[h] whom he charged with ingratitude for the

[b] Hard. ii. 625-44; Tillem. xv. 711-13; Schröckh, xvii. 29-30; Robins, 162-3. Tillemont (xv. 709-11) thinks that the assuming behaviour of the legates may have disposed the bishops to pass the canon, with a view of setting up a rival to Rome.

[c] These laws show that the party was strong, not only among monks, but among the soldiery. (Hard. ii. 677; Walch, vi. 479.) Eutyches himself did not appear at Chalcedon, and was not noticed by the council—probably because such notice was unnecessary, as Flavian's proceedings were vindicated. In 454 Leo suggested to Marcian that the heretic ought to be sent to a greater distance from Constantinople. (Ep. cxxxiv. 2.) The result is not known; but it is supposed that Eutyches died soon after. Baron. 454. 10; Tillem. xv. 722; Walch, vi. 415-17, 480-1.

[d] Cod. Just. I. v. 8; Hard. ii. 659-64, 676-80; Baron. 452. 3-5.

[e] See Tillem. xv 190.

[f] Ep. cvi. 5.

[g] Labbe, iv. 116; Tillem. xv. 702.

[h] Anatolius (ap. Leon. Ep. cxxxii. 4) says that his character was not ambitious, and that his clergy were the real movers in the affair. But Leo will not admit the excuse. Ep. cxxxv. 3.

favour shown by the Roman acknowledgment of him; he suspended intercourse with him, and threatened to excommunicate him.[i] Finding, however, that, although it was the interest of both Marcian and the patriarch to be on friendly terms with Rome, his lofty pretensions had no effect on them, he affected, in 454, to regard some conciliatory words of Anatolius as a retractation of the conduct which had offended him; and the patriarch of Constantinople was readmitted to his correspondence.[k] Although some of the more extravagant writers in the interest of Rome profess to suppose that Marcian abrogated the canon by an imperial law, there is no ground whatever for such a supposition, but it is certain that the canon, from the time of its enactment, was steadily enforced by the eastern court.[l]

II. The canon in favour of Constantinople agreed with the tendency of the age to centre authority in the great sees by overpowering the independence of the lesser.[m] In the same spirit which led the patriarchs of Constantinople to extend their jurisdiction over the neighbouring provinces, Alexander of Antioch had endeavoured, in the earlier part of the century, to assert a claim to the island of Cyprus, which had until then been "autocephalous"[n] under its metropolitan, the bishop of Constantia or Salamis. He pretended that it had been originally subject to Antioch, but had withdrawn itself in the course of the preceding century, on account of the heresy and schism by which the mother church had been distracted, and which it had been reserved for Alexander himself finally to suppress.[o] The

[i] Epp. 104-7, etc.
[k] Ep. 134; Tillem. xv. 729-30, 772.
[l] Tillem. xv. 729-30; Schröckh, xvii. 43-5; xviii. 491; Giesel. I. ii. 228; Hefele, ii. 544.
[m] Schröckh, viii. 136.
[n] Literally, "self-headed."
[o] Innocent. Ep. xxiv. 3 (Patrol. xx.); Thomass. I. i. 23, 2. See p. 100.

claim, however, failed; the council of Ephesus—perhaps in some degree influenced by enmity against John, who had become the successor of Alexander—pronounced it inconsistent with the canons of Nicæa.[p] But the dignity of the patriarchs generally had been on the increase. In some cases, they assisted bishops to obtain the title of metropolitans, on condition of subordination to themselves; sometimes they commissioned existing metropolitans to act as their vicars—an arrangement by which the metropolitan acquired an increase of power, but paid for it by the forfeiture of his independence.[q]

The growth of the Roman influence during the earlier half of the fifth century was especially remarkable. As in the preceding century, controversies continued to arise in the east. From Chrysostom and Theophilus to Dioscorus and Anatolius, the bishops of the chief eastern sees were divided by enmities, and one of them after another was charged with heresy. In such circumstances they were driven to look towards Rome, not only as the principal church of the west, but as representative of all the western churches. Antioch and Alexandria were especially interested in courting its alliance, as a counterpoise to the new importance of Constantinople.[r] The Roman bishops affected to regard such applications as appeals; while those who received favourable answers from Rome were eager to magnify them as authoritative judgments.[s] The dignity of the Roman see rose in the eyes of men, through the exemption of its bishops from that personal share in the disputes, the intrigues, the scandals and calamities of the time which degraded the estimation of the eastern patriarchs; through the circum-

[p] Hard. i. 1617-20; Tillem. xiv. 444-7.

[q] Planck, i. 619-20.

[r] Mosh. i. 437-8.

[s] Barrow, 406-7; Planck, i. 635; Giesel. I. ii. 200; Neand. iii. 242-3.

stance that, instead of themselves engaging in the altercations of councils, they were represented in those assemblies by envoys, who studiously held up the name of Rome as if it were entitled to overawe the whole hierarchy of the church.[t] By the withdrawal of the western emperors to Milan and Ravenna, the bishops, to whom it would seem that the munificence of Constantine had made over the Lateran palace for their habitation,[u] were left as the chief resident personages of Rome; and both the decay of the empire and the personal feebleness of its rulers contributed to the advancement of the ecclesiastical power. Thus favoured by circumstances, the bishops of Rome, with growing pretensions and through various fortunes, pushed onwards to that ascendency which their successors were destined in time to attain.

The Roman bishops had before denied that their precedence originated in the secular greatness of the city, and had professed to trace it to their alleged succession from St. Peter. This theory, in truth, resolves itself into the other, even according to the highest conception of the dignity conferred on St. Peter; since it is evident that the capital of the civilized world was the place in which the first of the apostles might naturally be supposed to fix his see. And, if there were any room for doubt, the question would be decided by the fact that the other churches which traced themselves to him were those of the two cities which came next in importance to Rome; and, further, that in ecclesiastical as well as in civil rank Alexandria took precedence of Antioch, although the foundation of the Egyptian see was referred to the agency of a disciple, whereas the Syrian see was believed to

[t] See Milman, Lat. Christ. i. 198.

[u] See Stanley, 242. If so, the so-called "Donation of Constantine" was true in this point, although in no other Ib.

have been founded by the apostle himself.[x] The derivation from St. Peter was, however, advanced as if it excluded the view which it thus really involves; and the claims founded on it became continually higher. For a time it was said that the prerogatives of Rome had been bestowed on it by the fathers, out of reverence for the chief of the apostles.[y] But afterwards it was asserted that they were inherent in the Roman see—a doctrine which was hinted at by Celestine's legates in the council of Ephesus, but was first broadly maintained by Leo.[z]

Innocent went beyond his predecessors in his assumptions. He laboured earnestly to subject independent metropolitans. Carrying out an usurpation which appears to have been begun by Siricius,[a] he assumed jurisdiction over the churches of eastern Illyricum, and constituted the bishop of Thessalonica his vicar for the administration of that vast province—extending from Cape Tænarus to the Danube.[b] He laid down the principle that the whole western church was bound to conform to the usages of Rome[c]—a A.D. 402-417.

[x] Barrow, 369, 372, 414. "Nusquam enim Christi vicarius plus ecclesiæ ædificandæ conferre potuit quam in urbe Romana; quia tunc et diu post quasi totius orbis dominium tenuit." (Aureum Speculum Papæ, in Fascic. Rer. Expet. et Fugiend. ii. 67). For attempts to get over this inversion of the order which the Roman theory would require, see Thomassin, I. i. 8. 6. Innocent says that Antioch received its dignity "non tam pro civitatis magnificentia, quam quod prima primi Apostoli sedes esse monstretur." (Ep. xxiv. 1.) Eusebius classes his own church, Cæsarea, among those founded by St. Peter (De Theophania, 5, Patrol. Gr. xxiv. 628). Yet Cæsarea had no precedence on this account, while on the other hand its secular superiority had given it ecclesiastical precedence and jurisdiction over Jerusalem.

[y] Conc. Sardic. A.D. 347 (?), c. 3; Zosimus, Ep. ii. 1 (Patrol. xx.); Valent. III. inter Epp. Leonis, 55 (ib. liv. 859); Giesel. I. ii. 208-9.

[z] Hard. i. 1477; Giesel. I. ii. 213; Herzog, viii. 298.

[a] Siric. Ep. 4 (Patrol. xiii. 1148). See Thomass. I. i. 18; Schröckh, viii. 113-15.

[b] Ep. 13 (Patrol. xx.). Theodosius II., in 421, at the request of the Illyrian bishops, ordered that the province should be subject to the see of Constantinople, "which rejoices in the prerogative of old Rome"; but by desire of Honorius he afterwards restored it to Rome. Inter Epp. Bonifac. 9-11 (ib.).

[c] Ep. 25, ad Decentium. Yet he seems to limit his claim by going on to say that the *western* countries had been evangelized by St. Peter's emissaries,

principle which so lately as the time of St. Ambrose had been utterly disallowed,[d]—and he declared that, after the judgment of local bishops had been pronounced, an appeal lay to the Roman see, not only in such cases as had been contemplated by the council of Sardica,[e] but in all "greater causes."[f] The lofty language of this bishop in receiving a communication from the Africans in the matter of Pelagius, the pretensions of his successor Zosimus in the same case, and the defeat of the latter in respect both of fact and of right, have already been mentioned.[g] Yet in that affair Zosimus, although with little credit to himself, made an important step towards increasing the authority of his see; for his circular letter—the expression, not of his first independent opinion, but of that which had been forced on him—was the earliest instance in which a document emanating from Rome was proposed for general adoption as a standard of orthodoxy.[h]

The Africans, although desirous of Innocent's co-operation in the Pelagian controversy, maintained their entire independence of him.[i] In like manner, when an African presbyter named Apiarius appealed to Rome, during the episcopate of Zosimus, the African bishops denied that appeals from Carthage might be made to

and on this account especially (*præsertim*) ought to follow the Roman example. See Schröckh, viii. 130, 136-8; Bindemann's Augustinus, i. 225-6.

[d] "In omnibus cupio sequi ecclesiam Romanam; *sed tamen et nos homines sensum habemus; ideo quod alibi rectius servatur, et nos rectius custodimus*" (Ambr. de Sacramentis, iii. 1). Compare Jerome—"*Unaquæque* provincia abundet in sensu suo, et præcepta majorum leges apostolicas arbitretur" (Ep. lxxi. 6); and Augustine, Epp. 36, 54.

[e] See vol. i. p. 443.

[f] This was to be done "sicut synodus statuit, et beata consuetudo exigit" (Ep. ii., ad Victorinum, c. 3). The words "sicut synodus statuit" appear to be an interpolation; but whether they came from Innocent himself or from a later hand, it would seem that by *synodus* is meant the Nicene Council,—*i.e.*, that an attempt is here made to refer to that council the sanction of appeals which was really enacted by the less authoritative synod of Sardica.

[g] Pp. 149-51.

[h] Pagi, vii. 173; Neand. iii. 241; Giesel. I. ii. 201-2.

[i] Schröckh, viii. 141.

churches beyond the seas, since such appeals had been forbidden by the council of Nicæa and in the African code.[k] Zosimus, however, claimed the right of entertaining appeals, by virtue (as he asserted) of a Nicene canon.[l] Among the Africans the mention of this authority excited great surprise, as no such canon was known to them. They sent to the eastern patriarchs for authentic copies of the Nicene code, and, in notifying this step to Boniface, who in the meantime had succeeded Zosimus, they expressed a hope that they might no longer have cause to complain of the secular pride and arrogance of Rome.[m] The canon proved to be one, not of the Nicene, but of the Sardican council,[n] which was not regarded as of œcumenical authority, and moreover Zosimus had strained it far beyond its real meaning.[o] Apiarius again appealed to Rome in the time of Celestine; when the African bishops altogether refused to admit any interference of foreign churches with the affairs of their province, and declared the holding of an opposite opinion to be a ground for excommunication.[p]

A.D. 419.

About A.D. 424-6.

Among the attempts of Celestine to extend the power of his see, his assumption of the right to depose a bishop of Constantinople was the most startling, as being that which went farthest beyond all precedent of former times. But the course of affairs prevented any result from this assumption, as the execution of Celestine's mandate was superseded by the summoning of a general council, and

[k] See Tillemont, xiii. 775, seqq.; Hussey, 41.

[l] Hard. i. 1242.

[m] Ib. 939, seqq.; 1243, seqq.; Tillem. xii. 385; xiii. 775-80, 783-4; Giesel. I. ii. 222; Hussey, 47.

[n] Conc. Sardic. A.D. 347 (?), c. 14. Gr.; c. 17. Lat.

[o] See Hussey, 49-52; Hefele, ii. 107-12, 120-1, 123-5. Baronius is very amusing on this affair. See especially 419. 87.

[p] This had already been declared by African councils—"Ad transmarina qui *putaverit* appellandum," etc. See Hard. i. 879, 1221. How entirely the principle was regarded as settled, may appear from St. Augustine, Ep. xliii 14.

at that assembly Nestorius was deposed, not by the authority of the Roman letter, but after an examination of his case by the bishops who were present, in the exercise of their independent judgment.[q] The advance of the Roman pretensions, however, was significantly shown at Ephesus; for whereas Innocent and Zosimus had been content to rest the claim of Rome to supreme judicature on the authority of "fathers" and councils, Celestine's representatives asserted it as a prerogative which St. Peter exercised through his successors.[r]

A.D. 440-461. The chief promoter of the Roman power in this period was Leo, who, in later[s] times, has been styled "the Great." Leo employed, in pursuit of his object, extraordinary genius, political skill, and theological learning. He raised the claims of the Roman bishop, as the representative of St. Peter, to a height before unknown. With that utter defiance of historical fact which afterwards became characteristic of his successors and their advocates, he declared the pretensions and the practices of his church to be matter of unbroken apostolical tradition—ascribing that venerable character to regulations introduced within the preceding half-century by Siricius, and even by still more recent bishops.[t] Under such pretences he endeavoured to enforce the usages of Rome as a rule for the universal church; even telling Dioscorus, before their disagreement, that Alexandria ought to follow the Roman model, and giving as his reason, that it would be impious[u] to suppose the disciple St. Mark to have varied from the rules laid down by his master St. Peter.

[q] Field, iii. 272-3; Barrow, 555; Tillem. xiv. 364. See above, pp. 184-91.

[r] Labbe, iii. 625; Janus, 87.

[s] See Tillem. xv. 829.

[t] Tillem. xv. 418-19. Leo repeated, in more than one instance, the attempt to pass off a Sardican for a Nicene canon, notwithstanding the exposure of the imposture in the case of Zosimus. Ib. 595-7; Hussey, 60, 67.

[u] "Nefas." Ep. 9.

In the earlier years of his episcopate Leo exerted himself against various kinds of heretics,—as the Pelagians, the Manichæans (of whom many had been driven to Rome by the troubles of Africa, and who appear to have been convicted of gross depravity, as well as of errors in opinion),[x] and the Priscillianists, who were still a considerable party in Spain. As to these last, it is to be noted that he expressly approved the execution of their founder, which, sixty years earlier, had excited the general disgust and indignation of the orthodox.[y]

The calamities of the age removed from the path of Roman ambition the hindrance which had been opposed by the independent church of Africa,—a church distinguished far beyond Rome itself by the services which its members had rendered to theology and learning. The Africans, oppressed by the Arian invaders of their country, were glad to seek support from a connexion with Rome; and the interference which had been boldly rejected in the days of Zosimus, was admitted without objection at the hands of the later bishops.[z] Leo extended his sway over Spain and Sicily,[a] and in Gaul he interfered in a remarkable manner, with gross injustice to one of the most eminent men of the age.

Hilary, a monk of Lérins, had at the age of twenty-eight been obliged reluctantly to accept the metropolitan see of Arles, as successor to his former abbot Honoratus, by whom he had been designated for the office.[b] He became famous for his learning; for his zeal in executing discipline without respect of persons; for his charity towards the poor and captives; and for his unwearied labours and exertions in all the episcopal

A.D. 429.

[x] Epp. 7-8; Baron. 443. 1-7; 444. 1-7; Schröckh, xviii. 61-4.

[y] Ep. 15, init. See above, vol. i. p. 410.

[z] Tillem. xv. 423; Schröckh, xvii. 133; Giesel. I. ii. 226.

[a] Schröckh, xvii. 150.

[b] The choice is said to have been confirmed by the descent of a dove on Hilary's head. Vita, c. 6 (Patrol. l.).

duties.[e] Such was his eloquence, that his Lenten discourses, of four hours in length, were listened to with unflagging attention, although bodily weakness obliged the hearers to introduce the novelty of sitting while he preached, instead of standing, as had been usual during the delivery of sermons.[d]

The sees of Arles and Vienne had formerly contended for precedence, and Zosimus had in 417 given a decision in favour of Arles, on the ground that it had been founded by Trophimus the Ephesian, who (he said) had been sent into Gaul by St. Peter.[e] Hilary, at a synod held in 444, deposed a bishop named Celidonius, who thereupon complained to Leo that the bishop of Arles had exceeded his jurisdiction. Such an application could not but be welcome to Leo, since it furnished him with an opportunity for extending his power under the pretext of defending the Gaulish bishops from oppression.[f] Hilary did not acknowledge any right in the Roman bishop to receive such appeals; he made his way to the capital on foot, in the middle of winter, for the purpose of asserting his independence; and, in consequence of the unsatisfactory nature of his communications with Leo, he left Rome secretly and returned to his diocese.[g] But Leo, with his usual boldness, declared that the apostolic see had always been accustomed to receive appeals from Gaul. He restored Celidonius; he pronounced a sentence depriving Hilary of the power to hold synods—a power which he represented as depending on a commission from Rome;[h] and he procured from Valentinian a very remarkable law which is supposed to have been

[e] Gennad. 71.

[d] Vita, 11; Augusti, vi. 337

[e] Zosim. Epp. 3-5 (Patrol. xx.); Conc. Taurin. c. 2, ap. Hard. i. 958; Schröckh, viii. 147-52, xvii. 138-9; Giesel. I. ii. 217-19; Wiltsch, i. 97-9.

[f] Ampère, ii. 74.

[g] Vita, 16-17.

[h] Ep. 10; Pagi, vii. 584; Tillem. xv. 60-80; Schröckh, xvii. 139-47; Neand. iii. 245-7; Giesel. iii. 220-1.

dictated by Leo himself.[i] In this the emperor, after magnifying the privileges of the Roman see, censures Hilary for his insubordination; he declares the bishop of Rome to be rightful ruler of the whole church; he orders that no bishop, in Gaul or elsewhere, shall make any innovation on ancient custom; that the appointments of the Roman bishop shall be obeyed as laws by all others; and that any bishop who shall neglect a citation to the tribunal of the bishop of Rome shall be forcibly compelled to appear by the civil governor of his province.[k] This unexampled law, however, was not universally obeyed, and Hilary appears to have retained his dignity until his death, four years later; after which Leo (who then styled him "of holy memory"),[l] at the request of the Gaulish bishops, settled the rivalry of Arles and Vienne by a division of jurisdiction.[m] A.D. 445.

The power of assembling general councils was not yet claimed by the bishops of Rome, but was supposed to belong to the emperors.[n] The council of Chalcedon, as we have seen, was summoned against the will of Leo, and in many respects it thwarted his wishes and disallowed his pretensions; yet in the event it contributed greatly towards the realization of his schemes. It was

[i] Barrow, 417.

[k] Leo, Ep. 11, seu Constit. Valent.; De Marca, 1. viii. 2-3; Schröckh, xvii. 47-9, 148; Planck, i. 642-50; Giesel. I. ii. 226; Hussey, 63-4. Baronius exults in this law (445. 9). Tillemont (xv. 73) says that, "*if* we may examine the matter by the light of history," we shall find Leo's pretensions to be quite unfounded. "Cette loi," he remarks (p. 83), "est très propre, comme dit Baronius, pour faire voir que les empereurs ont beaucoup servi à établir la grandeur et l'autorité des papes. Ce n'est ici le lieu d'y faire d'autres réflexions; mais nous ne pouvons pas nous empêcher de dire que dans l'esprit de ceux qui ont quelque amour pour la liberté de l'Eglise, et quelque connoissance de sa discipline, elle fera toujours aussi peu d'honneur à celui qu'elle loue que de tort à celui qu'elle condamne." (Comp. pp. 86-7, 441, and Quesnel, Dissert. v. in S. Leon.) Leo's successor Hilary, in dealing with a Gaulish quarrel, cites this law—thereby tacitly admitting that the pretended prerogatives of Rome had no older or higher source (Ep. 11; Patrol. lviii. 30). See Schröckh, xvii. 175.

[l] Ep. 40.

[m] Ep. 66; Pagi, viii. 64; Dupin, iv. 141; Tillem. xv. 84, 93-6.

[n] Barrow, 429-42; Planck, i. 481.

at Chalcedon that the legates of Rome for the first time obtained the presidency of a general council,—a position which could hardly have been refused to them when the dissensions of the eastern patriarchs had compelled the emperor to rely so largely on the orthodoxy and the judgment of the Roman bishop. The patriarch of Constantinople, indeed, was joined with them in the presidency, while neither he nor they had any privileges beyond other members of the council, and all were alike subject to the control of the imperial commissioners. But the part which the legates took in the assembly was afterwards greatly magnified by Leo, who usually spoke of them as having judicially decided matters respecting which they had only been allowed to give their opinion, and of which the decision had been pronounced by the voice of the council at large ;[o] and the adoption of the letter to Flavian, as a standard of doctrine on the Incarnation (although it was not received in submission to Leo, but was subjected to the examination of the council [p]), must have contributed not a little to exalt the authority of the Roman see in the estimation of Christians generally.

In his later dealings with the eastern church, Leo ventured on some remarkable innovations. It had been the practice of the great patriarchs to maintain representatives at Constantinople, for the purpose of watching over their interests in such matters as might be referred to the emperor.[q] But whereas these representatives had always been chosen from the lower degrees of the hierarchy, Leo commissioned a bishop to act as his ordinary envoy. Although this bishop, Julian of Cos, belonged to another jurisdiction, Leo took it upon himself to authorize his absence from his diocese ; and the object

[o] Tillem. xv. 644, 662-6 ; Walch, vi. 408.

[p] See note in Fleury, iii. 359. Leo himself speaks of the council's sanction. Epp. 102-3.

[q] Baron. 453. 9, and Pagi's note.

of the legation was evidently not so much to guard the interests of Rome as to overlook and coerce the patriarch of Constantinople.[r] Leo went so far as to interfere with the internal concerns of that church by remonstrating with Anatolius against certain ordinations and appointments, and by exciting the clergy of the eastern capital to control their bishop in the administration of his office.[s] It was natural that Anatolius should resent such interference;[t] and a violent collision appeared to be inevitable, when the death of the patriarch, in 458, prevented the further progress of the quarrel.[u]

We need not question that Leo conscientiously believed himself to be acting for the benefit, not of his own see only, but of the whole church. But neither respect for his great merits nor charity in the construction of his motives must be allowed to blind us to his ambition and love of domination. In him we for the first time meet with something approaching to the papacy of later times; the conception is, in the main, already formed, although as yet but imperfectly realized.[x]

A circumstance of different tendency must be mentioned before leaving this subject. After the death of Zosimus, in December 418, the possession of the see of Rome was for a time fiercely contested between Boniface and Eulalius, each of whom was consecrated by his partisans. Boniface was at length established by the emperor Honorius, who, apparently at the bishop's request, enacted that, when two persons should be chosen for the see of Rome, a new election should take place. And this was the origin of the important influence which temporal

[r] Tillem. xv. 760-1; Dupin, iv. 145, seqq.

[s] Epp. 111-13, 151, 155, 157, 161, &c.

[t] Leo, Ep. 163,

[u] Tillem. xv. 757-60, 802-11.

[x] Planck, i. 661-2; Ampère, ii. 84. Barrow styles Leo a "*vixenly* pope," 524.

princes afterwards exercised in the election of the Roman bishops.[y]

## CHAPTER V

FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE.—CONVERSION OF THE BARBARIANS.—VANDAL PERSECUTION IN AFRICA.

I. Within about twenty years from the death of Valentinian III. the western empire had nine sovereigns. The first of these was Maximus, the senator whose vengeance had been fatal to his predecessor. His wife having died opportunely, he married the widowed empress Eudoxia; but his indiscretion in telling her that for her sake he had instigated the murder of her husband excited her disgust and indignation. In order to obtain revenge she invited the Vandals from Africa;[a] and her invitation was promptly answered. Within less than three months after Valentinian's death, Genseric, whose fleet had long been the terror of the Mediterranean coasts,[b] appeared at the mouth of the Tiber. Maximus, in attempting to escape from Rome, was stoned to death by the populace; and three days later the invader was before the walls. Leo, at the head of his clergy, went forth to confront for the second time a barbarian conqueror;[c] he

March 17, 455.

June 12, 455.

[y] Hard. i. 1237-8; Bonif. Epp. 7-8 (Patrol. xx.). See Gratian. Procem. ad Dist. 97 (ib. clxxxvii.); Baron. 419; Tillem. xii. 387, seqq.; Schröckh, viii. 154-7. Some curious details of this affair may be found in the epistles of Symmachus, who, although a pagan, and formerly the chosen champion of his religion (see vol. i. p. 398), found himself obliged, as prefect of Rome, to take a part in moderating the contest for the bishoprick. Epp. x. 71-83 (Patrol. xviii.).

[a] Procop. de Bello Vandal. i. 4, p. 188.

[b] It is said that, when embarking on an expedition, he was asked by his pilot against what nation he intended to sail, and answered, "Against those with whom God is angry." Ib. 5

[c] See p. 175.

obtained a promise that the city should not be burnt, that the lives of the inhabitants should be spared, and that they should not be tortured for the purpose of discovering their treasures. Thus the bishop's intercession mitigated in some degree the horrors of the sack which followed; but the Vandals for fourteen days gave a loose to their lust and rapacity, and they returned to Africa laden with plunder, and carrying with them a multitude of captives, among whom were Eudoxia and her two daughters.[d] The charity of Deogratias, bishop of Carthage, on this occasion, may be related in the words of Gibbon. "He generously sold the gold and silver plate of the church to purchase the freedom of some, to alleviate the slavery of others, and to assist the wants and infirmities of a captive multitude, whose health was impaired by the hardships which they had suffered in their passage from Italy to Africa. By his order, two spacious churches were converted into hospitals: the sick were distributed in convenient beds, and liberally supplied with food and medicines; and the aged prelate repeated his visits both in the day and night, with an assiduity that surpassed his strength, and a tender sympathy which enhanced the value of his services. Compare this scene," adds the historian, "with the field of Cannæ, and judge between Hannibal and the successor of St. Cyprian."[e]

The loss of Africa involved that of the revenues which the Roman nobles had drawn from their estates in that country, and the cessation of the supplies of corn on which the community had in great measure depended for its support.[f] With a view of recovering the province, the emperor Majorian, a man of character and energy

[d] Proc. i. 5; Victor Tununensis, in Patrol. lxviii. 943; Gibbon, iii. 288-91; Gregorov. i. 207-16.

[e] Gibbon, iii. 292; Victor Vitensis, i. 8 (Patrol. lviii.).

[f] Gibbon, iii. 287.

worthy of a better time, made war on Genseric in 457; and eleven years later, a vast armament, chiefly supplied by the eastern emperor Leo, was sent against the Vandal king: but the first of these expeditions was defeated through the treachery of barbarian allies, and the second through the incapacity of its commander, the emperor's brother-in-law, Basiliscus.[g] Britain had already been abandoned by the Romans; Gaul and Spain were gradually occupied by barbarians of various races; and at length the imperial dominion was limited to a portion of the Italian peninsula. The last emperor of the west, Augustulus, was in 476[h] compelled to resign his throne, and became a pensioner on the bounty of Odoacer, the first barbarian king of Italy.[i]

II. In connexion with the fall of the empire, the paganism of the west may be for the last time formally noticed.

Paganism had been combated in the east with severity and with success. The younger Theodosius, as we have seen,[k] professed to question whether any of his subjects continued to adhere to it; and somewhat later, he ordered that the remaining temples should be dismantled,[l] and purified by the sign of the cross. But in the west the old religion retained its hold longer. In cities, the pagans, when debarred from the public exercise of their ceremonies, cultivated the household worship of the lares and the penates, and celebrated their sacrifices privately, notwithstanding the

[g] Procop. de Bello Vandal. i. 6-7; Tillem. Emp. vi. 322, 399-400; Gibbon, iii. 302-9, 318-21.

[h] Or 479. Compare Gibbon, iii. 335, with Clinton, A.D. 476.

[i] Gibbon, iii. 334.

[k] P. 84.

[l] Cod. Theod. XVI. x. 25. The word is *destrui*, but, as Godefroy observes, the context shows that this can only mean that the temples were to be cleared of idolatrous objects. Godefroy and Clinton give the date 426: Tillemont (Emp. vi. 72) gives 435. See Beugnot, ii. 220-1.

imperial laws.[m] And in the country the pagan rites were still performed without disguise, and without molestation on the part of those who were entrusted with the execution of the laws for their suppression.[n] Maximus, bishop of Turin, about the middle of the century, remonstrates with Christian landowners for suffering their estates to be defiled with idolatry by the peasants;[o] he describes and denounces the superstitious and disorderly celebration of the new year, which Christians had retained from the rites of Janus.[p] Leo the Great speaks of some Christians who continued to worship the sun.[q] Augury and other methods of divination were still commonly practised.[r] While pagans ascribed the calamities of the empire to the suppression of their rites, Salvian,[s] "the Jeremiah of his age,"[t] and other Christians, regarded them as chastisements on account of the remains of idolatry which were tolerated in Gaul, Africa, and elsewhere.[u] Pagans are occasionally mentioned as holding important positions in the state; even the emperor Anthemius (A.D. 467-472) is suspected of having favoured the old religion.[x] Genseric's expedition

[m] Beugnot, ii. 204-8.

[n] Maxim. Taurin. Serm. 82 (Patrol. lvii. 693).

[o] Id. Serm. 101-2.

[p] Homil. 16, 103; Serm. 6.

[q] Serm. xxvii. 4.

[r] Salv. vi. 2; Beugnot, ii. 216.

[s] Salvian, a presbyter of Marseilles, wrote a book 'On the Government of God,' with a view of combating the opinion which had grown up among Christians, that the miseries of the time and the sufferings of the good indicated an Epicurean carelessness as to human affairs on the part of the Deity—an opinion which had led many to doubt the profitableness of religion (De Gubernatione Dei, i. 1-5, Patrol. liii.). There is, as Niebuhr remarks, a strong republican and democratic element in this writer—his tone being one of reproof against those who had abused their prosperity, and were now suffering in consequence, but, as he represents, without being amended by their sufferings (vi. 12-18; Niebuhr, Vortr. iii. 325). He contrasts the austere virtues of republican Rome with the luxury in which the Christians of his own time indulged (i. 2); and, while he draws a dismal picture of all classes, he is especially severe on the rich and noble (*e.g.* iv. 4-7). M. Ampère has an interesting chapter on Salvian, ii. 178-91.

[t] He is so styled by Baronius, 476. 3.

[u] Salv. viii. 2; Schröckh, xvi. 213-16; Beugnot, ii. 231.

[x] Gibbon, iii. 316-17; Beugnot, ii. 211-12, 238, 248-9.

against Rome was in one respect favourable to Christianity, inasmuch as, by carrying off a number of statues, and by stripping the capitol of its thickly-gilt bronze roof, he removed from the sight of the Romans objects which recalled to mind the religion of their forefathers.[y] But in the very last years of the century, Gelasius, bishop of Rome, had to argue against the celebration of the Lupercalia, which, although only the lowest of the people took part in it, found apologists among men of senatorial rank.[z]

A.D. 455.

Theodoric the Goth, the conqueror of Odoacer,[a] enacted the punishment of death against all who should practise any pagan rites.[b] There is no evidence that this law was ever executed; nor perhaps was any pagan so firmly convinced of the truth of his religion as to brave death for the assertion of it; but from that time paganism ceases to appear in the light of history. Remnants of it, however, continued to lurk in most of the western countries, although both particular actions and popular customs which have been characterized as pagan are generally to be referred to a mixture of superstition with Christianity rather than to any intentional preference of heathenism;[c] and although much confusion has been introduced by writers who speak of the

[y] Proc. de B. Vand. i. 5; Beugnot, ii. 247.

[z] Patrol. lix. 110-16; Beugnot, ii. 274; Gregorov. i. 251-4. Gelasius combats the notion that the calamities of Rome arose from the neglect of heathen rites.

[a] See below, c. vi.

[b] Beugnot, ii. 282; Giesel. I. ii. 345 (referring to Lindenbrog, 'Cod. Legum Ant.' p. 255).

[c] When Belisarius was holding Rome against the Goths, in 537, it is said that "a fruitless effort to turn the gates of the temple of Janus on their rusty hinges revealed the scandalous secret that some Romans were still attached to the superstition of their ancestors" (Gibbon, iv. 47; see Procop. de Bello Gothico, i. 25, p. 375; Gregorov. i. 370). Yet perhaps we need not infer more from this as to the belief of the persons than we infer from the existence of pagan ideas and practices in Scotland or in Scandinavia at the present day. The Trullan council, in 691 (?), forbids certain pagan usages (cc. 62, 65, 94); but it would seem that the religious significancy of these had been forgotten by those who practised them.

deities of barbarous nations under the names of the Greek and Roman mythology.

III. (1.) As the empire of old Rome disappears from view, we begin to discern, not only the great spiritual power which will hereafter so largely engage our attention, but the origin of modern European states; and the appearance of the northern nations in civil history brings them into connexion with the history of the church. The hosts which in succession poured down on the provinces of the empire soon embraced Christianity;[d] but their creed was generally not that of the orthodox community. The missionaries who wrought on the Teutonic nations appear to have gone forth from among the Visigoths, whose lapse into Arianism has already been related;[e] and in some cases, where the conversion was originally to the catholic faith, Arianism was afterwards adopted in its stead,—as less perplexing to rude minds, as recommended by matrimonial or political alliances, and perhaps also because of its difference from the system professed by the rulers of Rome and Constantinople.[f] Thus the Burgundians on the Rhine, who, in consequence of having settled in a territory where Christianity had before prevailed, had become Christians about the year 413, exchanged Catholicism for Arianism half a century later;[g] and the Suevi, in Spain, originally converted by the orthodox bishops of Lusitania, became Arians in 469.[h] Genseric has been charged with having effected a similar change among the Vandals; but it would seem that the accusation was invented for the

[d] Niebuhr remarks that the proportion of Christians among the Goths was much greater than among the populations which they invaded. Vorträge, iii. 316.

[e] Vol. i. p. 417; Revillout, 61.

[f] Schröckh, xviii. 72; Neand. iv. 91; Giesel. I. ii. 340; Rückert, i. 221.

[g] Soc. vii. 30; Baron. 413. 27, with Pagi's notes; Rettberg, i. 254-5.

[h] Isid. Hispal. de Regibus Goth. 90 (Patrol. lxxxiii. 1082); Revillout, 63-6.

purpose of making his name more odious, and that the Christianity of his nation was in reality Arian from the first.[1] The conversion of barbarian tribes, unlike that of the Romans, usually began with the prince; and after his example the multitude pressed to the font. Among those who had been converted by such a process, it will be readily conceived that there was very little understanding of their new profession; that their Christianity was of a rude kind, and long retained a mixture of ideas derived from their old superstitions.[k] Yet with all these defects, both in doctrine and in morality, and although it held but a very imperfect control over the conduct of those who professed it, the Christianity of those nations did much to soften their ferocity, and greatly mitigated the sufferings of the more civilized races which they subdued.[l]

(2.) The religious story of Britain is entitled to our especial attention. Yet a writer who undertakes a general compendium of church history is bound, instead of exaggerating the proportion which that of his own country would rightly bear to the whole, to endeavour to preserve uniformity of scale, while he must refer his readers for further information to works which are expressly devoted to this portion of his subject.

During the fourth century, we find mention of British bishops as having attended the councils of Arles,[m] Sardica,[n] and Rimini; at the last of these it is said that three of them were compelled by poverty to accept an allowance from the emperor, which their brethren and the bishops of Gaul declined lest it might interfere with

[1] Schröckh, vii. 345; xviii. 89. Idatius says that "ut aliquorum relatio habet," he was an apostate (Chron. A.D. 428, Patrol. lxxiv.). Gibbon speaks of him as an apostate in early life. iii. 365.

[k] Schröckh, vii. 333; Giesel. I. ii. 341.

[l] Schröckh, vii. 337.

[m] See vol. i. p. 218; and on the whole matter, Haddan-Stubbs, i. 8, seqq.

[n] Athan. Apol. adv. Arianos, 1 See, however, Stillingfleet, 203.

the independence of their judgment.[o] It is also argued (but perhaps with more of patriotism than of plausibility), that there were British bishops at the council of Nicæa.[p] Although it would appear that Arianism was not unknown in our island,[q] the orthodoxy of the British bishops throughout the Arian controversy is attested by the weighty evidence of Athanasius and Hilary.[r]

Pelagius did not attempt to propagate his opinions in his native country; but, when proscribed elsewhere, they were introduced into Britain by one Agricola, and found so much acceptance that the clergy resolved to call in foreign aid[s]—much in the same manner as their countrymen had been accustomed to invoke the help of the Roman legions for protection against the attacks of their northern neighbours. In consequence of an application from Britain, German, bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus,[t] bishop of Troyes, were deputed by a synod of Gaulish bishops to combat the growing heresy.[u] Their preaching[x] and their sanctity produced

A.D. 429.

[o] Sulp. Sev. Hist. Sac. ii. 41 (Patrol. xx.).

[p] See Stillingfleet, 133, seqq.; Collier, i. 65-6.

[q] Gildas, i. 9 (Patrol. lxix.); Beda, i. 8.

[r] Ath. ad Jovianum, 2 (t. i. p. 781), Hil. de Synodis, init.

[s] Beda, i. 17; Collier, i. 124.

[t] Lupus was brother to a monk of Lérins named Vincent, who has been identified with the author of the 'Commonitorium adversus Hæreticos' (see below, c. vii.). But Tillemont (xvi. 128), and the Bollandists (Jul. 29, pp. 70-1), think that it was another.

[u] Prosper, according to the common copies of his Chronicle (see Patrol. li. 595), says that German was sent by Celestine, bishop of Rome, at the request of Palladius, a deacon. But the passage is doubtful; and, although it is very possible that Celestine may have wished to root out Pelagianism from Britain (as Prosper elsewhere states that he did, but without mention of German and Lupus—'Contra Collator.' xxi. 2), there is much more probability in the statement made by German's biographer, Constantius (sect. 41, Acta SS., Jul. 31), by Bede (i. 17) and others—that the application from Britain was made to the bishops of Gaul, and was answered by them. See Patrol. cxxiv. 1166; Baron. 437. 16; Stillingfleet, 280-6; Tillem. xiv. 154; xv. 15; Collier, i. 104; Lingard, A. S. Ch. i. 8; Lappenberg, i. 62; Kemble, ii. 356; Haddan-Stubbs, i. 17. Dr. Todd thinks it possible that, after the two bishops had been chosen by their Gaulish brethren, German received also a commission from Celestine. 270-6.

[x] That the Gaulish bishops were masters of Celtic, see Lingard, A. S. Ch. i. 9.

a great effect, which was seconded by an abundance of miracles. In a conference at St. Alban's they defeated the heretical teachers; and it is said that German obtained for the Britons a victory over the Picts and Saxons by directing an army, mostly composed of newly-baptized converts, to raise a loud shout of "Allelujah!"[y] About eighteen years later, German was again invited to visit Britain, for the purpose of eradicating the remains of Pelagianism, which had begun to revive; and his labours were again successful.[z]

The Romans, finding themselves unable to spare the forces necessary for a military establishment in Britain, had abandoned the island in the year 409.[a] After their withdrawal, the government became gradually vested in the hands of a multitude of petty princes, and the moral condition of the inhabitants was such that the calamities which followed are represented as a righteous judgment on it.[b] In 449, the Jute chiefs Hengist and Horsa are said to have landed in the isle of Thanet.[c] The Jutes, Angles, and Saxons poured in on the country, and by degrees got possession of all except the mountainous

[y] Beda, i. 18; Gildas, i. 18; Collier, i. 102. This is usually placed in Wales, which tradition represents as the chief scene of German's exploits, and as indebted to him for monasteries, chools, etc. But Dr. Lingard remarks that all such representations take their colour from a later time, when the Britons had been driven into the mountains by the Saxons. (A. S. Ch. i. 10-11.) It has been said that German and Lupus introduced the Gaulish iturgy into Britain; but this Sir W. Pa mer considers a mistake. Orig. Liturg. i. 176-7. ed. 2.

[z] Constantius, in Haddan-Stubbs, i. 18; Beda, i. 21.

[a] Gibbon, iii. 163; Turner, 'Hist. of Anglo-Saxons,' i. 180.

[b] See Gildas, *passim*; Bed. i. 12, 14; Lingard's Hist. Engl. i. 66-7; Palgrave's Anglo-Saxons, 30. That there was probably some exaggeration in this, see Walter, 'Das alte Wales,' 81 (Bonn, 1859).

[c] Beda, i. 15. See, as to the date, Stillingfleet, 470-3. Hengist and Horsa are supposed to be mythical by Mr. Kemble (i. 19, 32) and others, whose theories, however, agree better in destruction than in reconstruction. See Lappenberg, i. 65, seqq.; Thorpe, in transl. of Lappenb., i. 275; Lingard, H. E. i. 74-6; Martineau, 11-12; Haddan-Stubbs, i. 43. Professor Stephens strongly maintains the historical reality of the chiefs, but says that 428 is "now universally admitted to be the right date." Runic Monuments, 61, 66-7 (Copenh. 1866).

districts of the west. "Public and private buildings were alike destroyed," says Bede;[d] "priests were everywhere murdered at the altar; bishops and their people were indiscriminately slaughtered with fire and sword, and there was no one to bury the victims of such cruelty. Some of the wretched remnant were seized on the mountains, and were butchered by heaps; others, worn out with hunger, surrendered themselves, and, on condition that they should not be immediately put to death, embraced perpetual slavery for the sake of sustenance; some sorrowfully made for regions beyond the sea; others remained in their country, and, in continual trembling and anxiety, led a life of poverty among mountains, forests, and lofty rocks."[e] Some of the Britons found a refuge among the kindred inhabitants of Armorica;[f] such of them as became serfs to the conquerors gradually lapsed into heathenism; while those who maintained their independence in Cornwall, Wales, or Cumberland, although they preserved their Christianity, lost their Roman civilization and the use of the Latin tongue. Britain was withdrawn from the view of the Roman world, and was for a time regarded as a land of mystery and fable.[g]

[d] i. 15.

[e] This passage is mainly borrowed from Gildas (i. 25), and is suspected of exaggeration or fable. Turner, i. 181; Kemble, i. 21.

[f] Inett, i. 11; Turner, ii. 213. See Hallam, Middle Ages, i. 2, and Suppl. Notes, No. 1; Merivale, i. 252; Haddan-Stubbs, ii. 72.

[g] Procop. de Bello Goth. iv. 21; Gibbon, iii. 433-5. From the circumstance that, although the Roman remains in Britain exhibit "records of almost every religion of the heathen world," there had not, a few years ago, been found among them "the slightest trace of Christianity," a writer in the 'Edinburgh Review' (July, 1851, p. 191) would infer that there was no Christianity in this island before the coming of Augustine. But it must be remembered (not to mention other objections to this strangely precipitate conclusion) that the traces of heathen religion found in Britain are almost all connected with things which were not practised by the Christians of the times in question — the worship of images, the sacrifice of animals, the custom of burning the bodies of the dead, and of preserving their ashes in urns. [In the 'Quarterly Review,' cvii. 135 (Jan. 1860), it is stated that one Christian monogram has been found in North-

(3.) Amid the fictions with which the early history of Scotland is overlaid, it appears to be pretty certain that Ninian preached in the beginning of the fifth century among the southern Picts, who inhabited the country between the Frith of Forth and the Grampians.[h] This missionary is said to have been the son of a British chief, to have received his education at Rome, and to have afterwards visited St. Martin at Tours.[i] Returning to his native country, he fixed his see in Galloway, where, with the aid of masons whom he had brought with him from Tours, he erected a church in honour of St. Martin. This building, being of white stone (whereas the British churches were usually of less durable materials), was distinguished by the name of *Candida Casa*,[k] which became that of the see. Ninian's death is supposed to have taken place in the year 432.[l]

(4.) It is to the earlier half of the fifth century that the conversion of Ireland is usually referred. Although there had probably been some Christians in the island before that time,[m] the accounts of bishops who are said

umberland, and one in Dorsetshire. For a list of articles supposed to be Roman, see Haddan-Stubbs, i. 39.]

[h] See Grub, i. 15-16.

[i] The 'Life of Ninian,' by Aelred, written about 1150, is in Pinkerton's 'Vitæ Sanctorum,' Lond. 1789, pp. 1-23. See also Beda, iii. 4; T. Innes, 'Civil and Eccl. Hist. of Scotland' (Spalding Club, 1853), b. i. cc. 27-8, 31, 34; Acta SS., Sept. 16; the account of Ninian in the 'Lives of English Saints,' 1844, pp. 14, 20; Grub. i. 1-10, seqq.

[k] In Saxon *Huitaern*, now Whithorn (Russell in Spottiswoode, i. 256). The late biographer, however, shows reason for supposing that the name was older, being derived, not from Ninian's church, but from some other building. (90.) Candida Casa was much frequented by Irish students. Haddan-Stubbs, i. 120.

[l] Bishop Forbes points out that, as he is said to have dedicated his church to St. Martin, in consequence of having heard of his death while it was in progress, this would fix the beginning of his labours not later than 397. 'Kalendar of Scottish Saints,' 422.

[m] Todd, 189. This seems to be implied in St. Patrick's 'Confession' (22), where he speaks of himself as having gone "usque ad exteras partes, ubi nemo ultra erat, et ubi nunquam aliquis pervenerat qui baptizaret, aut clericos ordinaret, aut populum consummaret," —"from which," says Mr. King (i. 3), "it is evident that some of the less remote parts had been visited by Christian missionaries already." Compare Prosper, quoted below, p. 256, n. [b]. The idea of a more extensively spread Christianity, and of missionary

to have previously flourished there are generally rejected as fabulous.[n] Patrick, the "apostle of Ireland,"[o] seems to speak of himself as having been born at a place called Bonaven,[p] which by some writers is identified with Boulogne, while others suppose it to be a village which from him is called Kilpatrick, near Dumbarton.[q] His original name is said to have been Succath.[r] His father, Calpurnius, was of curial rank, and a deacon of the church; his grandfather, Potitus, was a presbyter.[s] At the age of sixteen the youth was carried off as a captive

bishops sent from Rome before the time of St. Patrick, was of later origin, and probably invented to serve a purpose. (Todd, 189-221). Among the arguments for the Greek origin of the Irish church is one of an architectural kind —that the earliest Irish buildings resemble the Cyclopean masonry. But surely it is more likely that two barbarous nations, although distant in time and in place, should have built in the same rude fashion, than that Greek ecclesiastics of the imperial days should have reverted to the Cyclopean style as a model. Mr. Petrie, in his learned essay on the Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland (Dubl. 1845), does not refer any of these buildings to an age earlier than that of St. Patrick.

[n] Tillem. xvi. 454; Schröckh, xvi. 219; Lanigan, i. 22, 36-7; Villanueva, n. in S. Patr. 230.

[o] On the subject of St. Patrick, there are disputes which render it hazardous to express an opinion on any point connected with his history. By some his very existence is denied. (See Lanigan, i. 48-79; King, i. 13-16; British Magazine, vols. viii.-ix.; xxiv. 597, seqq.; xxv. 130, seqq.) His birth is dated by Ussher as early as 372, and he is said to have lived 120 years. Tillemont placed his birth between 395 and 415 (xiv. 455); Lanigan in 387 (i. 137). See the articles *Patricius*, by Prof. Ramsay, in Smith's Dictionary, and by Schöll, in Herzog's Encyclopædia; Bishop Forbes' 'Kalendar,' 431, seqq.; and especially Dr. Todd's very learned book on 'St. Patrick,' which, while full of information, is enough to drive a person unacquainted with the Irish language to despair of understanding the subject.

[p] "Patrem habui Calpornium diaconem, filium quondam Potiti presbyteri, qui fuit in vico Bonaven Taberniæ." (Confessio, 1, in his works, edited by Villanueva, Dublin, 1835; or Patrol. liii.) These words (as Dr. Todd remarks, 355) do not say that he was born at Bonaven; but they seem to imply it.

[q] He speaks (Conf. 10) of being "in Britanniis" with his parents. Dr. Lanigan strenuously contends for the Gaulish birth (i. 88, seqq.), and Mr. King thinks it most likely (i. 17). On the other side see Ware, ii. 5; Acta SS., Mart. 17, p. 513; T. Innes, p. 34; Bp. Wordsworth on the Irish Church, 31-2; Schöll in Herzog, i. 206; also, 'Origines Parochiales Scotiæ' (pub. by the Bannatyne Club), i. 20.

[r] Lanigan thinks that this name means "wearer of the *succa*," an episcopal garment; and therefore that, if Patrick ever bore it, it was given to him by the Irish (i. 141). But another interpretation makes it *Deus belli* or *fortis belli*. Todd, 363.

[s] Conf. i.; Ad Subditos Corotici, 5.

to Ireland, where he was employed in tending sheep or cattle amid the loneliness of forests and mountains. In this occupation he was exposed to great miseries, but his soul was visited by thoughts to which it had before been a stranger; he prayed often, and his inward fervour rendered him insensible to the frost, the snow, and the rain.[t] After six years of captivity he was delivered by means in which, according to his narrative, Providence takes the aspect of miracle, and returned to his native country.[u] Years passed on; Patrick, according to some accounts, had travelled widely, and had studied under Martin of Tours and German of Auxerre;[x] and he had been ordained a presbyter, when he felt himself called by visions to preach the gospel in the land where he had been a captive.[y] His friends opposed his design of casting himself among its savage people;[z] one of them, who was most familiar with him, endeavoured to prevent his advancement to the episcopal order by divulging some sin which Patrick had confided to him as having been committed under the age of fifteen—thirty years before; but he resolutely broke through all hindrances, and was consecrated as bishop of the Irish. Palladius, a deacon,[a] had lately been consecrated by Celestine, and sent to labour among that nation,[b] although rather with a view to the suppression of Pelagianism than

A.D. 431.

[t] Conf. i. 2, 6.

[u] Ib. 6-9, 11-13.

[x] See Lanigan, c. iv.; King, i. 28. Dr. Todd points out that Patrick's apologetic mention of his own ignorance is inconsistent with the stories which his later biographers tell as to his course of studies. 310-12, 318.

[y] Conf. 10.

[z] Ib. 20.

[a] He has been called a deacon, and even archdeacon, of Rome. Dr. Todd, however, points out that Prosper does not style him a *Roman* deacon, and supposes him to have been rather a native of Gaul than (as is usually supposed) of Britain. 276-9.

[b] "Ad Scotos in Christum credentes." (Prosp. Chron. A.D. 435; Beda, i. 13.) It seems certain that the "Scots" here meant were the Irish (see Stillingfleet, Introd. cxxvii.; T. Innes, b. i. c. 39; Lanigan, i. 9-11, 46), although Skinner (i. 48-64), Bp. Russell (i. 7), and others maintain that Palladius was sent to some of the same race who had already settled in North Britain.

to the conversion of the heathen as the primary object of his mission;[c] but after a short stay he had withdrawn, and had apparently died in Scotland.[d] Patrick was more persevering and more successful.[e] He devoted the remainder of his life to the Irish—denying himself the satisfaction of revisiting his country and his kindred,[f] and labouring with great effect, although often exposed to perils from the hostility of the heathen priesthood, and of the barbarous princes, who slew many of his converts.[g] The date usually assigned for the commencement of his mission is the same with that of Ninian's death—A.D. 432; the time of his own death has been a subject of dispute, but seems to be with the greatest probability referred to the year 493.[h]

(5.) In Southern Germany, where the church had been regularly organised in the time of the Roman dominion, the preservation of the faith through the changes and troubles of the age, and the conversion of the new masters of the country, were mainly due to the exertions of Severin, the "apostle of Noricum."[i] The origin of this

[c] Prosp. c. Collat. xxi. 2; Hussey, n. in Bed. i. 13. See Grub, i. 23.

[d] Tillem. xvi. 454; Acta SS., Jul. 6; Neand. iii. 174; Wordsworth, 27; Grub, i. 23-4; Forbes' 'Kalendar,' 427, seqq.

[e] Tillem. xvi. 460, seqq. The story of Patrick's having also been sent by Celestine (Nennius, 56) is a later fiction. His 'Confession' (cc. 10, seqq.) favours the idea that he was consecrated in Britain. Mr. King, however, thinks it most likely that the consecration took place in France (i. 28-31). See Tillemont, xvi. 458-9; Neand. Ch. Hist. iii. 174; Giesel. I. ii. 340; Wordsworth, 34.

[f] Conf. 19.

[g] Ib. 22-3. See his epistle "Ad Christianos Corotici tyranni subditos."

[h] Ware, ii. 22; King, i. 35; Todd, 497. Tillemont (xvi. 783-4), and Dr. Todd (392), place the mission not earlier than 440, nor later than 460. Lanigan (i. 207) dates St. Patrick's death in 465; the Bollandists, in 460 (March 17, pp. 518-20); Bp. Wordsworth (34) and others, in 492. There was in the same age another eminent missionary to Ireland, Sen-Patrick (*i.e.* Patrick the elder), who has often been confounded with St. Patrick, but is supposed by Mr. Petrie, and apparently by Dr. Todd (308), to have been the same with Palladius. His death is placed in 458 or 461. King, i. 55.

[i] Rettberg, i. 228-9. The authority for Severin is a Life by Eugippius, who is commonly styled an African abbot. (Patrol. lxii. 1167, seqq.) Vogel (in Herzog, art. *Eugippius*) supposes him a monk of the Castrum Lucullanum

missionary is unknown; he himself, as if from a feeling of humility, took pains to conceal it; but although he came immediately from the east, the purity of his Latin was supposed to prove that he was a man of Italian birth, who, for the sake of spiritual perfection, had betaken himself to some oriental solitude.[k] Severin appeared in the region of Bavaria and Austria shortly after the death of Attila (A.D. 454), and declared that he felt himself called by visions to forego his taste for a contemplative life, in order that he might labour among the people of those countries, which were then desolated by the barbarian invasions.[m] The sight of his voluntary austerities encouraged the wretched inhabitants to endure the privations and other evils which for them were unavoidable:[n] he gained a vast influence over all classes, and obtained from the richer the means of relieving those whose distress was greatest.[o] Severin declined consecration as a bishop, on the ground that he was sufficiently employed in the ministration to which he had dedicated himself; and in this he was aided by monks, of whom he founded communities at Vienna, Juvavium (now Salzburg), Passau, and elsewhere.[p] His venerable character and life awed the rude invaders, who at his suit often showed mercy to the helpless population;[q] his presence was supposed to be a protection to the place of his abode, so that the inhabitants of the Roman towns on the Danube entreated him to reside among them by turns.[r] His prayers were believed to prevail with heaven; the gifts of prophecy and miracles were

(now the Castello dell' Uovo) at Naples; but when he argues that Eugippius must mean himself by "fidelis portitor filius vester" in the letter prefixed to the Life, he overlooks the fact that the name of the "faithful bearer"—Deogratias—is expressly mentioned, and that the whole sense of the passage is inconsistent with his notion.

[k] Vita, 4.
[m] Ib. 7, 11, 17.
[n] Ib. 11.
[o] Ib. 9, 25, 26.
[p] Ib. 4, 17; Rettberg, i. 244.
[q] Vita, 27, 39.
[r] Ib. 19.

ascribed to him. Among the instances of his prophetic foresight, it is related that, when visited by Odoacer, who had lately enlisted in the imperial guard, he discerned in the meanly-dressed recruit the future king of Italy;[s] and that he foretold the day of his own death, which took place in 482.[t] On the withdrawal of the Romans from the Danube, Severin's body was translated to Naples.[u]

(6.) The most important conversion of the fifth century was that of Chlodowig or Clovis, who, from being king of the Salian Franks, with a narrow territory in the neighbourhood of Tournay and Cambray,[x] became the founder of the great French monarchy. Clovis, who succeeded to his hereditary kingdom in 482, married in 493 Chrotochild or Clotilda, the daughter of Chilperic, a Burgundian prince who had adhered to the catholic faith while the rest of his family fell into Arianism, and, having been deprived of his inheritance and of life by his Arian brother Gundobald, was popularly regarded by the catholics of Gaul as a martyr for the orthodox faith.[y] Clotilda long and zealously urged her husband to embrace Christianity; but although, among other evidences, she represented to him the miracles for which the shrine of St. Martin, at Tours, was then famous,[z] Clovis remained obstinate—measuring the power of a deity by the prosperity of his worshippers, and supposing that the downfall of the Roman empire was a sufficient disproof of the religion which it had professed.[a] The queen, however, prevailed with him to let their firstborn son be baptized,

[s] Vita. 14.

[t] Ib. 51. See on Severin, Neander, Ch. Hist. v. 34-6; Memorials, 333-41; Ozanam, Civ. Chrét. au 5me Siècle, i. 39-42; Maclear, 'Christian Missions in the Middle Ages,' 46-51. Camb. 1863.

[u] Vita, 55-7.

[x] Hallam, Middle Ages, Suppl. Notes, 4; Perry, c. 2; Rettberg, i. 263.

[y] Gregor. Turon. ii. 28; Revillout, 66-7; Rückert, i. 315; Perry, 75.

[z] Nicet. Trevir. Epp. i. 4-5 (Patrol. lxviii.); Neand. v. 8-9.

[a] Greg. Tur. ii. 29; Gibbon, iii. 386.

and, in the hope of producing an impression on Clovis, the rite was administered with extraordinary pomp; but the death of the child, which took place within a few days, furnished the king with a new argument against a change of religion. A second son was also baptized, and, as he too fell sick, Clovis expected the vengeance of the gods to show itself in a repetition of the elder brother's fate; but, at the earnest prayer of Clotilda, the prince recovered.[b] The queen continued her attempts

A.D. 496. to convert her husband, but without success, until at length, when engaged with the Alemanni in the battle of Tolbiac,[c] Clovis finding himself in danger, invoked the aid of Christ,[d] declaring that his old gods had failed him, and vowing to become a Christian if he should obtain the victory.[e] The Alemanni were defeated; and at Christmas 496 Clovis with three thousand of his warriors was baptized at Reims by the bishop, Remigius. The cathedral was sumptuously adorned, brilliant with the light of innumerable tapers, and filled with perfumes of such sweetness that (as we are told) those who were present supposed themselves to be breathing the odours of paradise.[f] As the king entered, amid the solemn chant of hymns, he was struck with awe, and turning to Remigius, who held him by the hand, he asked whether this were the kingdom of heaven that had been promised to him? "No," replied the bishop, "but it is the beginning of the way thither."[g] The words of Remigius at the administration of the sacrament are famous—"Sicambrian, gently bow thy neck; worship that which thou hast burnt, and burn that which thou hast worshipped."[h] And no less

[b] Greg. Tur. ii. 29.

[c] Zülpich, near Bonn.

[d] "Jesu Christe, quem Chrotechildis prædicat esse filium Dei vivi." Greg. Tur ii. 30.

[e] Pagi, viii. 628; Gibbon, iii. 385. See Hallam, Middle Ages, i. 2.

[f] Greg. Tur. ii. 31.

[g] Hincmar., Vita Remig. 38 (Patrol. cxxv.). [h] Greg Tur ii. 31.

celebrated is the exclamation of Clovis when the bishop one day read to him the story of the Redeemer's passion —"Had I been there with my Franks, I would have avenged his wrongs!"[1]

There is no reason for doubting that the conversion of Clovis was sincere, although it was certainly of no enlightened kind, and although, like that of Constantine (with whom the father of French history compares him),[k] it failed to produce a consistent Christian life. Nor is its sincerity to be impeached because it proved favourable to the advance of his power,[l] although in this respect the profession of Catholic christianity, as distinguished from Arianism, involved advantages which he was not slow to discern and to profit by. It secured for him the weighty influence of the clergy, who were bound to him by the tie of mutual interest; those of the south of Gaul, who had been persecuted by the Arian Euric, king of the Visigoths of Toulouse, with a bitterness in which the barbaric hatred of them as Romans was combined with religious intolerance, were ready to welcome an orthodox invader.[m] When he was deter- A.D. 466-484.

[1] Fredegar. Epitom. 21 (Patrol. lxxi.). The story of the phial of chrism said to have been brought by a dove from heaven for the baptism of Clovis, does not appear until the time of Hincmar, three centuries and a half later (Vita Remig. 40; Annales, A.D. 869). Against it see the Acta SS., Oct. 1, pp. 83-8; even Rohrbacher, for once,

"projicit *ampullas*, et sesquipedalia verba,

and (viii. 487) is ashamed to maintain it. The phial was broken during the French revolution, but a part of its contents is said to have been preserved, and used at the coronation of Charles X. See Mosh. i. 421-2 and notes; Schröckh, xvi. 239-45; Giesel. I. ii. 440; Martin, i. 424; Migne in Patrol. lxxi. 225.

[k] Greg. Tur. ii. 31.

[l] Gibbon, iii. 386; Schröckh, xvi. 237-8; Rettb. i. 274-5; Rückert, i. 328-31; ii. 3; Perry, 77, seqq. Planck (ii. 25-31) thinks that it arose merely from motives of policy. Against him see Löbell, 260-3. The immediate result was a loss of part of the Franks, who left Clovis to place themselves under another chief. Hincm. Vita Rem. 39; Löbell, 221, 266.

[m] Tillem. Emp. 445-6; Sismondi, i. 187; Revillout, 149, 154, 162; Rückert, i. 253. See Greg. Tur. ii. 36. "Vestra fides," writes Avitus, bishop of Vienne, to Clovis, "nostra victoria est . . . Tangit enim nos felicitas; quotiescunque illic pugnatis, vincimus." Ep. 41 (Patrol. lix.).

mined to make war on Euric's successor, Alaric, in the year 507, he gave the attack a character of religion, by declaring himself indignant that Arians should possess a part of the Gaulish soil ;[n] and the story of the war thus undertaken for the faith is embellished by the chroniclers with an abundance of miracles in his favour.[o] While unscrupulous in the use of treachery and in profusion of blood for the removal of all who stood in the way of his ambition, he preserved the favour of the clergy by his liberality towards churches and monasteries.[p] His religious policy was chiefly directed by Remigius, who, having been consecrated to the see of Reims in 461, at the age of twenty-two, retained it for seventy-two years ;[q] and by his advice Clovis, in the last year of his own life, summoned the first Frankish council to meet at Orleans.[r]

A.D. 511.

At the time of his conversion Clovis was the only sovereign who professed the orthodox creed ; for the other princes of the west were Arians, while the Emperor Anastasius favoured the monophysites. Hence the kings of France derived the title of "Eldest Son of the Church."[s]

IV. From the first invasion of Africa, the Arian Vandals cruelly oppressed the catholics.[t] When a deputation

[n] Greg. Tur. ii. 37.

[o] Ib. See Perry, 85-8.

[p] Schröckh, xvi. 249, 250; Sismondi, i. 229-32 ; Perry, 95. Löbell's vindication of the tone in which Gregory of Tours (ii. 40) speaks of Clovis (253, 265) is ingenious, but not convincing. See Giesel. I. ii. 453.

[q] Hist. Litt. iii. 156. There is a curious passage in the document which professes to be this bishop's will. Clovis, while yet unbaptized, had given him some estates, which Remigius bestowed for charitable purposes, lest the king, in his unbelieving state, should think him greedy; and thus, he says, he excited the admiration of Clovis, and gained an influence over him. Test. Remig. ap. Flodoard. Hist. Rem. i. 18 (Patrol. cxxxv. 61).

[r] Schröckh, xvi. 247-8, 252 ; Sismondi, i. 235.

[s] Gibbon, iii. 338 ; Sismondi, i. 188.

[t] The Vandal persecution is related by Victor, bishop of Vite, himself a catholic confessor, whose work was edited by Ruinart, with additions ('Historia Persecutionis Vandalicæ,' Paris, 1699), and is reprinted in vol. lviii. of Migne's Patrologia.

of bishops and clergy waited on Genseric for the purpose of representing the sufferings of their party, and of entreating that, although deprived of their churches, they might be allowed to live under the Vandal rule and to minister to the consolation of their brethren, he burst into a fury, told them that he did not wish to leave one of their name or race alive, and was with difficulty dissuaded from ordering them to be thrown into the sea.[u] Many bishops and others were banished among the savage tribes of Africa; and here, as it had often happened in similar cases, their exile became the occasion of spreading the Gospel to regions which it had not before reached. After the death of A.D. 457. Deogratias—whose charity towards Genseric's Roman captives[x] is rendered the more admirable by the depression which his own church was suffering—no consecration of bishops was allowed in the province of Africa; and it is said that, in consequence of this prohibition, only three out of a hundred and sixty-four sees were found to be occupied thirty years after (A.D. 487). But Genseric, whose time and thoughts were chiefly employed on plundering expeditions abroad, was a less terrible scourge to the catholics than his son Hunneric, who succeeded him in 477.[y] In the beginning of his reign, Hunneric affected lenity towards them, and directed his severity against the Manichæans. These sectaries were in the habit of disguising themselves under the profession of less obnoxious forms of religion; and the king had the mortification of finding that most of those whom he detected had professed to be members, and some of them even to be clergy, of his own sect—having naturally preferred the safest communion as that to which they should ostensibly attach themselves.[z] Hunneric was connected

[u] Victor, i. 5.
[x] See p. 245.
[y] Gibbon, iii. 363, seqq
[z] Victor, ii. 1.

with the imperial family, by having married the captive Eudocia, daughter of Valentinian III. and Eudoxia.[a] At the intercession of her sister Placidia, and of the eastern emperor Zeno, he intimated to the catholics of Carthage, in 481, that they were at liberty to choose a bishop: but he added the condition that the same privileges which he allowed them should be granted in the east to the Arians, with liberty to perform their services and to preach in whatever language they pleased;[b] and he threatened that, if these terms were not observed, the new bishop and his brethren should be sent into banishment among the Moors. The elder catholics dreaded such conditions, and declared themselves resolved rather to live still under the immediate government of Him who had hitherto protected them. But the eagerness of the younger brethren, who had never seen a bishop of Carthage, prevailed, and Eugenius was consecrated to the see.[c]

The virtues of the new prelate made a general impression, which alarmed the Arian clergy; and, at their suggestion, Hunneric issued an order that no person in a Vandal dress should be allowed to enter the churches of the catholics. Eugenius declared that he could not comply with this order—that God's house was open to all; whereupon officers of the government were stationed at the doors of churches, with instructions to scalp all Vandals of either sex who should attempt to enter.[d] For a

[a] Procop. de Bello Vandal. i. 5.

[b] Victor, ii. 2; Ruinart, p. 496. This, according to Neander (Memorials, 323), "intimates that already in the east certain languages began to be considered as sacred, and that there was a wish not to employ the Teutonic language, as too rude for the service of the church. Chrysostom," he adds, "took a different view; for he gave a Gothic presbyter permission to preach at Constantinople in the Gothic language" (see p. 99, etc.) Is not the meaning rather that Hunneric claimed for his fellow-sectaries in the east the use not only of the barbarian tongues (which the emperor would have less scrupled to grant), but of the Greek—with liberty of Arianizing for Greeks as well as for barbarians?

[c] Victor, ii. 2.

[d] "Palis dentatis jactis in capite, crinibusque in eisdem colligatis, ac vehementius stringentes, simul cum capillis omnem pelliculam capitis auferebant" Victor, ii. 2.

time, the king's attention was diverted from the persecution by anxiety to secure the succession to the throne for his son. With a view to this, he executed some of his nearest relations, burnt the patriarch of his own sect for the crime of being intimate with the objects of his jealousy, and put many other of the Arian clergy to the same horrible death.[e] The catholics in the meanwhile apprehended that his fury might probably be next turned on themselves; and visions and other omens are related as having foreshown the approaching trials.[f]

An edict was issued that no one who did not profess Arianism should be employed about the court or in the public service. The recusants were deprived of all their property, and were banished to Sicily and Sardinia; the possessions of bishops were confiscated; the virgins of the church were seized, and were savagely tortured in the hope of forcing from them an avowal of licentious intercourse with the bishops and clergy.[g] Four thousand nine hundred and seventy-six catholics—bishops, clergy and laity—were condemned to banishment into Mauritania. Hunneric was entreated to spare one aged bishop, who was paralytic in body and imbecile in mind; but he replied, that, if the old man could not ride to the place of exile, he should be dragged by wild oxen. The victims, after attempts had in vain been made to cajole them by a show of kindness, were treated with atrocious and loathsome barbarity. Many died on the way in consequence of the cruelty of their Moorish guards; and the survivors found their place of exile pestilential, and infested by venomous serpents.[h]

The king now summoned both parties to a disputation at Carthage. Eugenius professed his willingness to argue, but said that, as the question A.D. 483.

[e] Victor, ii. 5. [f] Ib. 6. [h] Ib. 8-12; Tillem. xvi. 549-55; Gibbon, iii. 369.
[g] Ib. 7.

concerned the whole church, he was not at liberty to engage in a conference without the consent of his brethren in other countries. The objection was advanced in the hope that the catholics might thus have an opportunity of making their sufferings generally known, and that they might obtain the aid of disputants who, not being subjects of Hunneric, might argue without fear of his vengeance; but the tyrant answered it by saying, "Make me master of all the world, and I will grant what you require;"[1] and he banished many of the bishops and other catholics who had the highest reputation for learning. The first of February 484 was fixed on for the opening of the conference. At the Epiphany, it is said, a blind man was thrice charged by visions to go to Eugenius, when the bishop should be engaged in the benediction of the font, and to beg for the recovery of his sight. Eugenius, after some hesitation, performed the cure, by applying the baptismal water in the form of a cross; and the miracle, displayed in the presence of a large congregation, was hailed by the orthodox with enthusiasm. The Arians, however, ascribed it to magic,[k] and Hunneric, in order at once to terrify the catholics and to weaken them for the intended disputation, burnt Lætus, one of the most learned members of their party, who had been long confined in prison.[1] On the appointed day, the

Feb. 1, 484. catholics, at their entrance into the place of conference, discovered the Arian patriarch, Cyrila, seated on a lofty throne; an arrangement of which

[1] Victor, ii. 13-16.

[k] Ib. 17. Gregory of Tours relates that the Arians—in what state of the contest is not certain—by way of opposing the miracles of the catholics, engaged a man to counterfeit blindness, with the intention of pretending to cure him. When the bishop laid his hand on him, the pretender was struck with real blindness, accompanied by an excruciating pain in his eyes. He confessed the imposture, and avowed himself a convert to the orthodox faith: whereupon he was cured by Eugenius and two other catholic bishops. Hist. ii. 2.

[1] Victor, ii. 17.

they reasonably complained, as inconsistent with the equality and impartiality which ought to be observed at such meetings. Cyrila, finding them better prepared than he had expected, declined a disputation, on the plea that he could not speak Latin ;[m] Eugenius handed in a long profession of faith :[n] and the meeting ended without any discussion.

Hunneric followed up the conference by ordering that all the churches of the catholics should be shut up in one day, and that their funds should be transferred to the Arians. He also issued an edict in which he charged the catholics with disorderly behaviour at the late meeting, and, after a recital of the penalties to which the Arians had been subjected by the imperial laws, he enacted that the catholics within his dominions should be liable to the like. It was forbidden that any one should give them food or lodging, under pain of being burnt, with his house and family.[o] The bishops were then required to swear to the succession of the king's son Hilderic. Forty-six who refused, on the plea that Christians ought not to swear—a plea which, as the historian of the persecution acknowledges, was intended only to serve as an excuse—were sent to cut wood in Corsica ; while those who complied, three hundred and two in number, were banished, and obliged to work in agriculture, as having broken the scriptural prohibition against oaths. Eighty-eight bishops were terrified or flattered into an abandonment of the catholic faith.[p]

The barbarities which followed need not be here detailed.[q] Victor of Vite states that the Arian clergy were more cruel than even the officers of the govern-

[m] The catholics said that this inability was pretended (ib. 18) ; but, as Gibbon remarks (iii. 370), Cyrila might have been able to converse tolerably in Latin without being master of the language sufficiently to dispute in it.

[n] This fills Victor's third book.

[o] Victor, iv. 1-3.

[p] Ib. 4-5 ; Tillem. xvi. 567 ; Gibbon, iii. 371.

[q] See Victor, lib. v.

ment; he tells us that they used to break into houses, sword in hand, and to force their baptism on the inmates of all ages,—often during the night, and while the recipients of this strange sacrament were asleep.[r] The most celebrated incident in the story of the persecution is the case of the confessors of Typasa. The catholics of that town steadfastly refused to acknowledge an Arian bishop, and persisted in celebrating their rites; whereupon, by Hunneric's command, a number of them—sixty, according to some accounts—had their right hands amputated and their tongues cut out by the roots. Yet they continued to speak as before; and this circumstance, which was supposed to be miraculous, was interpreted as a divine manifestation against their persecutors. Victor mentions, as a particularly well-known member of the company, a subdeacon named Reparatus, who found a home in the palace of Constantinople.[s]

[r] Ib. v. 13.

[s] C. 6. See Evagr. iv. 14; Tillem. xvi. 578-80; Ruinart, 482, seqq.; Mosh. i. 478, and notes; Schröckh, xviii. 102-3; Gibbon, iii. 373; Newman on Miracles, 200-13. The fact of these sufferers speaking after the loss of their tongues is sufficiently attested — in particular by Æneas of Gaza, a Platonic philosopher and a convert to Christianity, who professes to have closely examined them (Patrol. Gr. lxxxv. 1001); and the emperor Justinian, in an edict, states that he himself had witnessed it. (Cod. i. xxvii.) Other writers add circumstances which have a fabulous air,—as that among the confessors was a youth who had never been able to speak until he was deprived of his tongue (Marcellinus, Chron. A.D. 484, Patrol. li.); and that one (or, according to another account, two) of the number, through afterwards falling into carnal sin, forfeited the gift. (Procop. de Bello Vand. i. 8. p. 196; see Ruinart, 482, seqq.). Dr. Newman has overstated the motive for the supposed miracle, by assuming that the mutilation of these persons was intended to silence their determined confession of the orthodox faith — a point which comes out more distinctly in proportion as the narrators are more remote from the time. Thus, Victor says nothing of it; but St. Gregory the Great — who, besides other mistakes, turns the confessors into bishops, and misdates the persecution by forty years or more—lays great stress on it (Dial. iii. 32. See Newman, 207-8). But the real explanation of the matter seems to be one which was originally proposed by Conyers Middleton, and has been confirmed by several cases which have occurred since his time—viz., that persons who have been deprived of the tongue may, without a miracle, retain the power of speech. For the references of former editions in proof of this may be now substituted a general reference to a very curious and interesting volume,—'The Tongue not

While the persecution was at its height, Africa was laid waste by famine and pestilence, and Hunneric, after a reign of seven years and ten months, is said to have died by the same loathsome disease as Herod and other persecutors.[t]

Amid the inconsistent accounts which are given of Hunneric's nephew and successor, Gundamund, A.D. 484-506. it would appear that at first he followed the policy of the preceding reign, but that he afterwards allowed the catholics to enjoy toleration.[u] His brother Thrasimund, who reigned from 496 to 523,[x] was the ablest of the Vandal kings, and, unlike his race in general, was distinguished by a love of literature;[y] but he was a bigoted Arian, and, after having in vain attempted to gain the catholics by bribery, laid snares for them in order to obtain a pretext for persecution.[z] Their sufferings were great during this reign. Thrasimund forbade the consecration of bishops, and sent two hundred and twenty members of the order into banishment for a breach of his prohibition.[a] Among his victims was Eugenius of Carthage, who died in exile at Albi.[b] On the death of Thrasimund, Hilderic—the same to whom an oath of fidelity had been exacted by his father Hunneric—succeeded to the throne A.D. 523. after an exclusion of nearly forty years. His predecessor had compelled him to swear that he would make no change in the state of religion; but Hilderic, a prince of

essential to Speech,' by the Hon. E. Twisleton, (Lond. 1873). It is remarkable that in the legendary lives of St. Leodegar of Autun, while we are told that, after having been deprived of his eyes and tongue, he recovered his speech, nothing is said as to a recovery of sight. Patrol. xcvi. 342, 362. See hereafter, vol. iii. 9.

[t] Victor, v. 21. Another writer says that his bowels gushed out. Vict. Tunun. Patrol. lxviii. 946.

[u] See Ruinart, 547, seqq.; Tillem. xvi. 590-600; Schröckh, xviii. 103.

[x] Pagi, ix. 304.

[y] Gibbon, iii. 496.

[z] Procop. de B. Vand. i. 8, p. 197

[a] Vita Fulgentii, 15, 20, seqq. (Patrol. lxv.); Baron. 504. 37; Gibbon, iii. 368.

[b] Greg. Tur. ii. 2.

gentle temper, thought it less sinful to break than to keep such an engagement, and granted the catholics the free exercise of their worship.[c] The usurper Gelimer, in 530, revived the persecuting spirit of Arianism, but within four years the Vandal dominion was overthrown by the arms of Justinian's general, Belisarius.[d]

A.D. 534.

During the contest with the Vandals the most eminent controversialists on the catholic side were Vigilius, bishop of Tapsus (to whom some have ascribed the authorship of the Athanasian creed),[e] and Fulgentius, bishop of Ruspe.

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## CHAPTER VI.

### MONOPHYSITISM.—JUSTINIAN.—THE "THREE ARTICLES."

### A.D. 451-566.

1. The council of Chalcedon was represented as Nestorian by its opponents, and the strife which it was meant to allay continued to distract the church.[a] The name of Eutychians was soon superseded by that of Monophysites, *i.e.* maintainers of one nature only; for Eutyches himself fell into discredit, and those who rejected the late council were generally willing to anathematize him, on account of a sort of docetism which was imputed to him—an opinion that the body of our Lord was not truly human, but had descended from heaven.[b]

[c] Procop. de B. Vand. i. 9, p. 199; Comp. Vict. Tunun. A.D. 523 (Patrol. xviii.).

[d] Gibbon, iii. 366.

[e] On this creed (which is perhaps of yet later date), see Vol. III. book IV. c. vii., near the end. The chief ground for ascribing it to Vigilius is, that in controversy he had recourse to the device of imposing works of his own on the Vandals as the compositions of Athanasius and Augustine. See Chifflet, in Patrol. lxii. 471, seqq.; Gibbon, iii. 371; H. Schmidt, in Herzog, art *Vigilius v. Tapsus.*

[a] Tillem. xv. 731-4; Giesel. I. i. 347.

[b] Vigil. Tapsens. c. Eutych. iii. 1

The monophysites, on the contrary, maintained that the Saviour was "consubstantial with us, as touching his flesh"; while as to his soul they rejected the idea of an absorption of the manhood into the Godhead, and reverted to the formula "one incarnate nature," acknowledging, moreover, that this one nature was twofold.[c] In addition to the elder authorities on which they had hitherto relied, the monophysites were reinforced towards the end of the century by a forgery executed in Egypt —the mystical works ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite. These writings, although originally brought forward by a heterodox party, and although their essence is said to be not Christian, but neo-Platonic,[d] were, with hardly a question, universally received as genuine, and retained their credit for a thousand years.[e]

Juvenal of Jerusalem, on returning from Chalcedon, found that the see for which he had just achieved the patriarchal dignity was occupied by a turbulent monk named Theodosius, who was countenanced by Eudocia, widow of the emperor Theodosius II. For two years this intruder held possession of Palestine, being supported by monks and by a force of ruffians, who exercised a general system of terror, burning houses and monasteries, expelling bishops and clergy, and committing murders without restraint. At length, however, through the conciliatory policy of Marcian and Pulcheria, his chief supporters were drawn away from him. Juvenal resumed his bishoprick, and after a A.D. 451-3.

(Patrol. lxii.); Liberat. 11 (ib. lxviii. 998); Walch, vi. 504, seqq.; Giesel. I. ii. 348-9. See, as to a similar notion of the Apollinarians, vol. i. p. 373. Walch says that the charge against Eutyches was unjust, but that he denied our Lord's consubstantiality with mankind. vi. 554-7.

Evagr. iii. 5; Tillem. xvi. 295; Mosh. i. 494, 497, 498; Giesel. I. ii. 349.

[d] Ritter, vi. 534; Vogt, in Herzog, art. *Dionys. Areopagita.*

[e] See Fabricius, Bibl. Gr. vii. 7-8; Giesel. I. ii. 352, 386; Ritter, vi. 518, seqq.; Dorner, ii. 196-203. Baronius is vehement for their genuineness. 649. 19.

time Eudocia, partly influenced by the persuasions of Symeon the Stylite,[f] and partly by the calamities which had befallen her daughter and grandchildren in the Vandal expedition against Rome, was induced to rejoin the catholic communion.[g]

A.D. 456.

At Alexandria Proterius was elected in the room of Dioscorus, but found himself fiercely opposed by a powerful faction, which could only be kept down by a military force, at the expense of much bloodshed.[h] On the death of the emperor Marcian, the malcontents thought that their opportunity had at length arrived. Timothy named Ælurus (the Cat),[i] who, with Peter Mongus (the hoarse), had separated from the communion of Proterius, and had been excommunicated by him, raised a mob, and was consecrated by two deposed bishops. On Thursday before Easter Proterius was murdered in the baptistery of his cathedral; his body, after having been hung up in mockery, was dragged about the streets and cut in pieces; some of the multitude tasted his entrails; the remains were then burnt, and the ashes were scattered to the winds. The catholic clergy were expelled, and the other adherents of Proterius were persecuted.[k]

A.D. 452, before July 28 (Clinton).

A.D. 457.

The accession of Marcian's successor, Leo, was rendered remarkable by his receiving the crown from the hands of the patriarch Anatolius,—the first instance of a solemnity which has become usual in Christian states.[l] The new emperor, who before his elevation had been a military officer, began by publishing a confirmation of

[f] Leo of Rome also wrote to her (Ep. 122), and otherwise exerted himself in the case.

[g] Evagr. ii. 5; Baron. 452. 27, seqq.; 455. 18-20; Tillem. xv. 731-7, 752-4, 779-80.

[h] Evagr. ii. 5; Liberat. 14-15.

[i] See Walch, vi. 681-2.

[k] Evagr. ii. 8; Liberat. 15; Theod. Lector, i. 8; Tillem. xv. 747-8, 782-8.

[l] Gibbon, iii. 313-14; Martene de Antiqq. Eccl. Ritibus, ii. 202; Palmer, Origines Liturgicæ, Supplem., p. 54

all that his predecessor had done in the matter of religion.[m] The Alexandrian differences were soon brought under his notice by some envoys of each party; whereupon he issued a requisition to the bishops of every province, and to the most eminent monks, desiring them to give their opinions on the council of Chalcedon and on the pretensions of Ælurus.[n] By this expedient Leo probably hoped to obtain a judgment equivalent to that of a general council, without risking the inconveniences connected with such assemblies. The result was an unanimous sentence against Ælurus and in favour of the council; although some bishops of Pamphylia, while they admitted the correctness of the decisions of Chalcedon, and their utility for the defence of the faith, questioned the fitness of imposing them as terms of communion.[o] Ælurus was banished to Cherson;[p] and another Timothy, an ecclesiastic of the catholic party (who is distinguished by the names of Salophaciolus and the White), was chosen in his stead, and for fifteen years governed the Alexandrian church with wisdom and moderation.[q]

A.D. 457, October.

A.D. 460.

Leo was succeeded in 474 by his grandson of the same name, the son of his daughter Ariadne by Zeno; but the child died within a year, and Zeno remained in possession of the throne.[r] The private character of this emperor was stained by gross and shameless debauchery.[s] His reign was disquieted by many rebellions, one of

[m] Labb. iv. 892, 946, 958; Evagr. i. 6; Tillem. Emp. vi. 367.

[n] Hard. ii. 689; Liberat. 15. See Walch, vi. 685.

[o] Hard. ii. 732; Evagr. ii. 9; Pagi, viii. 217-18; Neand. iv. 233-4.

[p] The ancient Cherson was near the site of Sebastopol. It was the seat of a Greek republic, which preserved its independence until the emperor Theophilus, in the ninth century, compelled it to receive a governor from Constantinople. See Finlay, ii. 415; Ginzel's 'Cyrill und Method,' 25 (Leitmeritz, 1857).

[q] Evagr. ii. 11; Tillem. xv. 813, 821-3. The meaning of *Salophaciolus* is unknown. Vales. n. in Evag.

[r] Evagr. ii. 17.

[s] Ib. iii. 1; Tillem Emp. vi. 475-6.

which compelled him for nearly two years to give way to
A.D. 475-7. a rival, Basiliscus, the brother-in-law of Leo, —the same whose misconduct in the expedition against the Vandals of Africa has already been mentioned.[t] Basiliscus, who was supported by the mono-
A.D. 475. physite party, recalled Timothy Ælurus from banishment, and restored him to the see of Alexandria;[u] he also restored to Antioch Peter "the Fuller," a monophysite, who had been twice expelled from the see in the reign of Leo; and he took it upon himself to issue an encyclic or circular letter, condemning the council of Chalcedon, and laying down definitions as to faith—the first document of the kind which had been put forth by any emperor.[x] Timothy of Alexandria, Peter of Antioch, and, it is said, about five hundred other bishops, subscribed the edict.[y] But Acacius, who in 471 had become patriarch of Constantinople, displayed on this occasion a vehemence which contrasts strongly with the courtly and equivocating policy of his ordinary conduct as to matters of religion. Perhaps, as has been suggested, Acacius may have been animated in his opposition to Basiliscus, not only by zeal for the faith of Chalcedon, but by a regard for the privileges which the council had bestowed on his see, and by attachment to
A.D. 476. the emperor to whom he had owed his elevation. He arrayed his person and his church in mourning, and by his preaching excited the monks and people of the capital against the usurper. Both Basiliscus and the patriarch sent envoys to Daniel the stylite,[z] who had succeeded Symeon as the most revered oracle of the time. Warned by a vision, Daniel descended from his pillar, and appeared in Constantinople; he con-

[t] P. 246; Gibbon, iii. 449.
[u] Liberat. 16.
[x] Evagr. iii. 4; Schröckh, xviii. 508; Neand. iii. 191; iv. 234.
[y] Evagr. iii. 5; Tillem. xv. 295.
[z] See p. 41.

firmed the orthodoxy of the council of Chalcedon by performing a number of miracles, denounced against Basiliscus the judgments of this world and of the next, and did not leave the city until the usurper, alarmed at the report that Zeno was approaching, and was supported by the whole catholic party, published a second edict, revoking his circular, anathematizing Eutyches as well as Nestorius, and approving the council of Chalcedon.[a] It is said that Basiliscus fled for safety to a church, and that the patriarch, disregarding the example of his great predecessor Chrysostom,[b] gave up the unhappy man to the relentless vengeance of Zeno.[c] A.D. 477.

Things were now again changed. Most of the bishops who had signed the circular of Basiliscus eagerly went over to the opposite party.[d] Peter the Fuller was ejected from Antioch, and Ælurus would have been ejected from Alexandria but that his advanced age promised a speedy vacancy in the see. On his death,[e] which took place before the end of the year 477, Peter Mongus was irregularly consecrated as patriarch by two deprived bishops, if not by a single bishop. The emperor deposed, but did not banish him,[f] and Timothy Salophaciolus was reinstated.[g] This patriarch administered his office with a mildness which drew from the emperor admonitions to be more rigid in suppressing the meetings of the monophysites; while with these he was so popular that, on meeting him in the streets, they used

[a] Evagr. iii. 6-7; Theod. Lect. i. 32-3; Sym. Metaphrast., Vita Dan., in Surius, vi. 860-2; Tillem. xvi. 285, 289-300; Walch, vi. 709, 723-4; Schröckh, xviii. 509.

[b] See p. 103.

[c] Procop. de Bello Vandal. i. 7, p. 195; Anon. Valesian. ad. calc. Amm. Marcellini, 663; Baron. 477. 2. It must be remembered that the subsequent quarrel of Acacius with Rome has exposed him to hard treatment by writers in the Roman interest.

[d] Evagr. iii. 9; Neand. iv. 236.

[e] Evagr. iii. 8. His enemies said that he poisoned himself. Liberat. 16.

[f] Evagr. iii. 11; Tillem. xvi. 309-10.

[g] Baron. 447. 6-20; Tillem. xvi. 313-20.

to express their regard for him, and their regret at being obliged to stand aloof from his communion.[h] On his death, in 482, John Talaia, steward of the church, was elected to the patriarchate; but the emperor objected to him on account of his connexion with Illus, an officer who had lately revolted. Talaia was expelled, and took refuge at Rome; and Peter Mongus renewed his pretensions to the see of Alexandria.[i]

The doctrines of the monophysites had by degrees been so greatly improved from the original Eutychianism that the idea of reconciling the party with the catholics might now appear not unreasonable or hopeless.[k] By the advice of Acacius, Zeno put forth a document bearing the title of Henoticon (or Form of Union), which was originally addressed to the Egyptian patriarchate, but was afterwards made a standard for other churches also.[l] In this, the emperor, after alluding to the discords, the bloodshed, the destitution of the means of grace, and other unhappy consequences which had resulted from the late controversies, declares the creed of Nicæa and Constantinople to be the only baptismal creed, anathematizes Nestorius and Eutyches, and approves of Cyril's twelve anathemas. He states that Christ is "consubstantial with the Father as touching his Godhead, and with us as touching his manhood"; that "the miracles and the sufferings were of one and the same Person." He reprobates those who "divide, confuse, or introduce the notion of a phantasy";[m] he anathematizes "any one who thought or thinks anything to the contrary, either now or at any other time, either at Chalcedon or in any other synod whatsoever."[n] The

A.D. 482.

[h] Liberat. 16.
Id. 17; Tillem. xvi. 320-4.
[k] See Walch, vii. 37-40.
[l] Evagr. iii. 13; Baron. 482. 31-2; Tillem. xvi. 327.
[m] This word refers to the opinion ascribed to Eutyches, p. 270.
[n] Evagr. iii. 14; Walch, vi. 773-7 Giesel. I. ii. 356-7.

document was composed in the belief that the doctrine of Chalcedon would of itself be received without objection in quarters where the name of the council was obnoxious: and, while it avoided the expression "in two natures" and the confirmation of the council, it set forth those points of doctrine as to which both parties were agreed. But the care which was taken to consult the prejudices of the monophysites naturally rendered it objectionable to the catholics; and the mention of Chalcedon, although only in a hypothetical form, appeared to go somewhat beyond a neutrality, as if a slight to the council were intended. At Rome, especially, no approbation was to be expected, inasmuch as the bishop had not been consulted on the occasion, and as there was no mention of Leo's letter to Flavian.[o]

It was intimated to Peter Mongus, that, on condition of subscribing the Henoticon[p] and of admitting the Proterians to communion, he might be allowed to hold the bishoprick of Alexandria. To these terms he consented; and the great body of the catholics submitted to him, while the extreme Eutychians formed a separate sect, which, as being without a head, received the name of Acephali.[q] Peter endeavoured to gain these by anathematizing the council of Chalcedon and the letter to Flavian; it is even said that with the same view he disinterred the body of Salophaciolus.[r] In answer to a remonstrance from Acacius, he said that he had accepted the council of Chalcedon as containing no innovation on the faith, but he did not deny that he had acted with a tortuous policy.[s] While Peter laboured by

[o] Mosh. i. 594, Walch, vi. 814-19; Schröckh, xviii. 514-16. The Henoticon, however, was never *condemned* at Rome. See Walch, vi. 804-5.

[p] Walch (vi. 783, 819) supposes the form to have been drawn up by a compromise between Acacius and the envoys of Mongus.

[q] Evagr. iii. 12-14.

[r] Ib. 16. Peter denied the charge of violating his predecessor's grave (ib. 17), but Tillemont (xvi. 346) believes it. See Walch, vi. 844.

[s] Evagr. iii. 17; Liberat. 18, col. 1029.

such means, but with very little success, to conciliate the Acephali, he exercised great severity towards such of the catholics as refused to communicate with him.[t]

Peter was received into communion by Acacius, and by Martyrius of Jerusalem; and the patriarch of Constantinople wrote in his behalf to Rome.[u] But the interest of Rome had been already gained by the expelled bishop of Alexandria, John Talaia. Two successive popes, Simplicius and Felix, addressed letters in favour of him both to the emperor and to Acacius;[x] but the patriarch in reply assured Felix that Peter was a rightly-chosen and orthodox bishop, and Zeno threw out charges of perjury against John.[y] Acacius won over two legates of Felix, and persuaded them to be present at a service in which the name of Peter was recited in the diptychs—an act by which they seemed to give the sanction of Rome to his tenure of the Alexandrian patriarchate.[z] For this compliance the legates, on their return home, were tried before an Italian synod, which deposed and excommunicated them; and the synod proceeded to condemn Acacius, whom Felix had previously cited to appear at Rome and give an account of his communicating with Peter Mongus.[a] The sentence was intimated to Acacius in a letter from Felix

A.D. 484.

[t] Tillem. xvi. 346.

[u] Evagr. iii. 16; Liberat. 18.

[x] See Patrol. lviii. Felix, who became pope in March 483, is usually styled the Third of his name, although this reckoning involves the recognition of the Felix intruded by the Arians in the time of Liberius (see vol. i. p. 320). Tillem. xvi. 337-9; Acta SS., Feb. 25. For an account of the strange perversions of history in favour of Felix II. and against Liberius, see Döllinger, 'Papst-Fabeln,' 122, seqq.

[y] Evagr. iii. 15, 21; Tillem. xvi. 335-7, 340-4, 350-1. It is said that when John was on a mission to Constantinople, a short time before the death of Salophaciolus, the emperor made him swear that he would not accept the bishoprick. The authority for this is Zacharias, a monophysite, quoted by Evagrius, iii. 12. Tillemont (xvi. 321-2) supposes that the oath may rather have been that he would not intrigue for the election.

[z] Evagr. iii. 21; Tillem. xvi. 348-9, 352.

[a] Evagr. iii. 18-21; Baron. 484. 11; Tillem. xvi. 344, 353-4, 765-6; Walch, vi. 915. There is a question whether the condemnation and the deposition of Acacius were the work of one or of

and other bishops, declaring him to be deposed, degraded, and separated from the number of the faithful, as having been condemned by the judgment of the Holy Spirit and by apostolical authority, so that he should never be unloosed from the anathema pronounced against him.[b] The Roman bishop would probably not have ventured on this unexampled proceeding, but that the reign of Odoacer in Italy had encouraged him to disregard the emperor of the east. The Greeks complained of the irregularity with which it was conducted as well as of the assumption which it involved.[c] Acacius took no other notice of it than by removing the name of Felix from the diptychs of Constantinople.[d]

The deposition of Acacius was announced by Felix to the clergy and people of Constantinople, and it was declared that all who should not separate from the patriarch were cut off from the communion of Rome.[e] A great number of monks, including the Acœmetæ, a society of extraordinary repute for sanctity,[f] preferred the connexion of Rome to that of their own bishop;[g] so that division was thus introduced into the church of the

two synods. See Pagi, viii. 444, 486.

Hard. ii. 831-2; Walch, vi. 866-8, 910, 927. Gelasius, the successor of Felix, laboured to explain these last words as meaning that Acacius could not be absolved until he should own his fault and ask pardon (De Anathematis Vinculo, Patrol. lix. 108, seqq.); but Tillemont (xvi. 359) remarks that they were not necessary if this were all that was intended.

[c] A patriarch was properly amenable only to a general or other great council; but it was pretended that Acacius fell under the condemnation of the council of Chalcedon, as having communicated with persons whose opinions were there condemned. See Gelas. Ep. 11 (Patrol. lix.); Baron. 492. 18-19; Walch, vi. 918.

[d] Pagi, viii. 445; Tillem. xvi. 356-7, 362-3; Mosh. i. 496; Schröckh, xviii. 519-20.

[e] Ep. 10-11 (Patrol. lviii.).

[f] The founder of these was Alexander, who died about 428 or 430. The peculiarity of the acœmetæ (or *sleepless*) was, that they were divided into classes which by turns kept up an unintermitted course of worship. Alexander was not beyond the suspicion of heretical connexions, and for this or other reasons he is not reckoned among the saints; but his order was distinguished for its orthodoxy. See Pagi, viii. 230; Acta SS., Jan. 15; Tillem. tom. xii. art. *Alexandre*.

[g] Tillem. xvi. 360; Dupin, iv. 258; Giesel. I. ii. 358.

eastern capital itself. The schism which ensued lasted five-and-thirty years, and the precipitancy with which the excommunication was pronounced was equalled by the rigour with which it was carried out—the bishops of Rome treating the whole east as heretical for refusing to break with Acacius, although he himself had not been charged with heresy, but only with the secondary offence of communicating with alleged heretics.[h] Tillemont remarks on this occasion that later popes have been glad to invoke the intercession of saints whom, when alive, their predecessors rejected from communion.[i]

Within a few years, the chief persons who had been concerned in the monophysite troubles were removed from the scene. The last days of John Talaia were spent in an Italian bishoprick, which had been bestowed on him by Felix.[k] Peter the Fuller—who in 485 had been established in the see of Antioch on signing the Henoticon, and had been acknowledged by his namesake of Alexandria, although Acacius evaded a recognition of him—died in 488;[m] and Acacius in the following year.[n] Fravitta, the successor of Acacius, held the patriarchate for only four months, and was succeeded by Euphemius, an orthodox bishop who renounced the communion of Peter Mongus, and was preparing for a contest with him, when the patriarch of Alexandria died.[o] At the death of Zeno, in 491, the church, instead of having been united by his Henoticon, was divided into three great parties:—Antioch, under Palladius, and Alexandria, under Athanasius, were monophysite; Jerusalem was with Constantinople; while Rome and the west stood aloof.[p]

A.D. 490.

Anastasius, on whom the daughter of Leo and widow

[h] See Pagi, ix. 24.
[i] Tillem. xvi. 356, 366, 372, 642.
[k] Liberat. 18, col. 1027.
[m] Tillem. xvi. 365-7.
[n] Pagi, viii. 501.
[o] Tillem. xv. 397, 633.
[p] Ib. xvi. 388, 633; Gibbon, iv. 359; Walch. vi. 931.

of Zeno bestowed her hand and the empire, had already attained the age of sixty, and reigned twenty-seven years. Before his elevation he bore a high character for piety; and his general reputation is attested by the cry with which he was greeted—"Reign as you have lived!"[q] He was, however, suspected by the patriarch Euphemius, who refused to consent to his promotion, except on receiving a written assurance that no innovation should be attempted in the matter of religion, and that the council of Chalcedon should be maintained.[r] It is said that some of the emperor's relations were Arians and Manichæans; and by many writers he is charged with the errors of those sects, as well as with that of the monophysites, whose interests were favoured by the result, if not by the intention, of his policy.[s] Yet his orthodoxy has been warmly defended; and his principle of action has been characterized as impartiality rather than indifference.[t] Anastasius professed to aim at peace, and to abhor the idea that any who believed in Christ, and bore the name of Romans, should be vexed on account of their opinions.[u] Evagrius tells us that under him the council of Chalcedon was neither openly preached nor wholly rejected; that the bishops took different courses with respect to it; and that the emperor, in his desire to check all innovation, ejected those who introduced into their dioceses a change in either direction.[x] Throughout the reign the eastern patriarchates continued to be unquiet, and the Henoticon was the test generally prescribed—a test to

A.D. 491-518.

[q] Cedren. 357; Gibbon. iii. 450.

[r] Evagr. iii. 32; Tillem. Emp. vi. 533-4. This is said to be the earliest approach to a coronation oath (Lingard, A. S. C., ii. 28). Theodore the Reader states that Anastasius forcibly got possession of the paper again. ii. 8

[s] Tillem. Emp. vi. 531.

[t] Walch, vi. 947-8, 1043; Schröckh, xviii. 523. Tillemont (xvi. 636-7) thinks that he really held with the acephali, and that, having begun with a policy of indifference, he afterwards gave vent to his predilection for heresy.

[u] Symmach. Ep. 10 (Patrol. lxii. 79).

[x] Evagr. iii. 30.

which all but the extreme members of the opposite parties were willing to submit, but which had the disadvantage of being insufficient to insure harmony among those who subscribed it. The dissensions of the clergy among themselves compelled Anastasius to depart so far in practice from his principle of peace or indifference, that to the catholics he appeared a persecutor, and his name is marked with especial detestation by the orthodox historians. Tales of impiety, which savour strongly of fiction, are related of him; miracles and portents are said to have declared the wrath of heaven against him; and his end is described with fabulous circumstances of horror.[y]

Euphemius of Constantinople was deposed and banished in 496; his successor, Macedonius, in 511 or 512. Although the ejection of Euphemius was ostensibly grounded on political charges,[z] it is probable that in both cases the patriarchs had offended by refusing to enter into the policy of the court as to religion.[a] Alexandria was held by a succession of bishops who rejected the council of Chalcedon, but were yet unable to reduce the Acephali to their communion.[b] In the patriarchate of Antioch, the religious agitations of the time occasioned much tumult and bloodshed. Flavian, one of its bishops, was banished in 512, although, in order to clear himself from the charge of Nestorianism, he had gradually yielded to anthematize, not only Nestorius, but Diodore, Theodore, Theodoret, Ibas, and finally the council of Chalcedon.[c] Elias of Jerusalem, who in like manner had made large

[y] Baron. 518. 16-19; Schröckh, xvi. 22; xviii. 529, 530, 533; Victor Tunun. A.D. 518 (Patrol. lxviii.). See p. 286.

[z] "Falso damnatus." Marcellin. A.D. 496 (Patrol. li.).

[a] Evagr. iii. 32; Tillem. xvi. 660, 690, 810. Liberatus says (19) that Macedonius was deposed for substituting ὡς (not, as many commentators on the New Testament say, θεός) for ὃς in I Tim. iii. 16.

[b] Tillem. xvi. 638.

[c] Evagr. iii. 31-2. Baronius (512. 30) attempts to deny that Flavian gave up the council.

concessions, was nevertheless deposed in the following year.[d] Throughout the reign of Anastasius, Rome remained in separation from the east. The overtures from Euphemius and the emperor were met with unbending haughtiness by Gelasius, who filled the see from 492 to 496.[e] The next bishop, Anastasius II., opened communications with Constantinople in a tone of conciliation; it is said that he was willing, for the sake of peace, even to admit that the name of Acacius should remain in the diptychs. But his death put a stop to the negotiation,[f] and his successor, Symmachus, exchanged with the eastern emperor accusations of heresy and messages of defiance.[g] Nov. 498.

Severus, a monk[h] who afterwards became patriarch of Antioch on the deprivation of Flavian, introduced at Constantinople an addition which Peter the Fuller had made to the trisagion—the words, "Who was crucified for us."[i] In consequence of this a serious collision

[d] Vita S. Sabb. ap. Labb. vii. 88-9; Theophan. ed. Paris, 134; Tillem. xvi. 719-20.

[e] Gelas. Epp. 1, 8 (Patrol. lix.); Barrow, 467.

[f] Much to the delight of Baronius, 497. 28. See Anast. Ep. 1, ap. Labb. iv. 1278; Theod. Lector, ii. 17; Tillem. xvi. 637-42, 650-9, 665-8. The biographer who passes under the name of Anastasius the Librarian (Patrol. cxxviii. 439) says that the pope, in punishment of his laxity, "nutu divino percussus est"; and Dante places him in hell (Inferno, xi. 8-9). For the growth of the stories against him, see Döllinger, 'Papst-Fabeln,' 124, seqq.

[g] Symmach. Ep. 10 (Patrol. lxii.); Baron. 503. 18, seqq.; Tillem. xiv. 671-4.

[h] Severus, after having been a heathen and an advocate, became a monk, but was turned out of a monastery for his monophysite opinions, which were carried to the extent of rejecting the Henoticon, so that he is described as acephalous. (Liberat. 19; Tillem. xvi. 682; Walch, vi. 982). It is said that, on his elevation to the see of Antioch, he promised to sign the Henoticon, but did not keep his engagement (Walch, vi. 1021-2). He is described as a man of great ability, but is charged not only with severities against the catholics, but with embezzling ornaments and other property of the church. Evagr. iv. 4; Schröckh, xviii. 536. See Dorner, ii. 166-72; and Smith's Dict. of Biography, art. *Severus* (iii. 798).

[i] The angelic song of "Holy, holy, holy" (Isaiah vi. 3), received a development at Constantinople in the episcopate of Proclus, when it is said that, as the people were engaged in prayer on account of an earthquake, a child was miraculously caught up, and after an hour returned, declaring that he had

took place between the catholics and the monophysites of the capital, during the episcopate of Macedonius; but after his deposition one of still more alarming character arose.[k] By order of the emperor, two prefects entered a church, ascended the pulpit or screen, and began to chant the trisagion with the Antiochene addition; whereupon a tumult ensued, many persons were killed, and a number of catholics were committed to prison. On the following day a fresh conflict took place; and the disturbance came to its height on the occasion of a solemn procession, which took place on the third day. Timothy, the monophysite successor of Macedonius, had given orders that the new clause should be used. Those who obeyed him were met by bands of the catholic monks, chanting the trisagion in its old form; the parties fell to blows; the populace of the city mixed in the fray, and many lives were lost. Among the slain were a female recluse, and a monk who was suspected of having suggested the per-

A.D. 512.

heard the heavenly host singing ἅγιος ὁ Θεὸς, ἅγιος ἰσχυρὸς, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος. To this form Peter, while yet a presbyter, added the words ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς. Calandion, one of the catholic patriarchs who intervened between Peter's occupations of the see of Antioch, made the further addition of "our Lord Jesus Christ"; but Peter rejected this. His form was adopted by catholics, until the council "in Trullo" (A.D. 691?) condemned it: after which it was used only by monophysites and monothelites. While its advocates referred the whole to the second Person of the Godhead, its opponents maintained that the triple "Holy" denoted the three Persons, and had been given through Isaiah as an intimation of the mystery of the Trinity (Joh. Damascen. De Hymno Trisagio, Opera, i. 482). Hence Pope Felix III. charges Peter with the Manichæan error of saying that the Holy Spirit was crucified, and the name of *Theopaschites* or *Deipassiani* was given to his followers, as if they maintained that God suffered; while another charge was that they added a fourth Person to the Trinity. See Felix III. Ep. 3 (Patrol. lviii. 910); Conc. Trull. c. 82; Joh. Damasc. i. 480-97; Theophan. 207; Tillem. xvi. 310, 319, 376; Walch, vi. 489, 798, 850; vii. 238; Giesel. I. ii. 355, 366; Dorner, ii. 155.

[k] Evagrius (iii. 44) speaks of only one tumult. So Neand. iv. 241. But Pagi (ix. 97-100, 117-20) and Tillemon (xvi. 687-9, 810) give reasons for thinking that there were two. The same phrase became the cause of fresh disturbances in the reign of Tiberius II. Joh. Ephes. 156, 198.

formance of the prefects to the emperor; the monk's head was cut off, stuck on a pole, and carried in procession as that of an enemy to the Divine Trinity. Houses were sacked and burnt; the emperor's pictures and statues were defaced and thrown down, and there were cries for a new emperor. Anastasius, then more than eighty years of age, withdrew from the city; but after three days he presented himself in the circus without the ensigns of sovereignty, when the multitude, by way of insult, received him by shouting the orthodox trisagion. He addressed them by the mouth of a herald, professing himself willing to abdicate, but reminding them that they could not all reign, and that they must make choice of one for their emperor. The people were moved by his words, and by the sight of his humiliation; and, after having promised to gratify them with the blood of the obnoxious prefects, he was allowed to resume the government.[1]

The last years of the reign were disquieted by the insurrection of Vitalian, a Scythian or Gothic chief, who took arms for the catholic faith, A.D. 511-6. devastated Thrace, and threatened Constantinople. He required that the banished orthodox bishops should be restored; that the council of Chalcedon should be acknowledged; that communion with Rome should be resumed, and that a new general council should be called, at which the pope should assist. To these terms the emperor at length submitted; but the exorbitant demands of Hormisdas, the successor of Symmachus, prevented any accommodation between the east and the west during the lifetime of Anastasius.[m] The emperor

Marcellinus, A.D. 512 (Patrol. li.); Vict. Tunun. (ib. lxviii. 951); Theophan. ed. Par. 136. Gibbon (iv. 360-1) speaks as if the prefects had been put to death. But it appears that Anastasius did not find it necessary to fulfil his promise or oath. Tillem. xvi. 700.

[m] See the correspondence in Patrol. lxiii.; Evagr. iii. 43; Baron. 515. 19-36; 516. 1-19; 517. 1-48; Gibbon, iii. 483; iv. 361.

died in 518,[n] and was succeeded by Justin, an aged soldier of Slavonic race, in whose name the government was really administered by his nephew Justinian.[o] Vitalian, after having been promoted to the highest offices by the new sovereign, was in the seventh month of his consulship treacherously assassinated at the imperial table; and Justinian is suspected of having contrived his murder.[p]

A.D. 520.

Timothy, patriarch of Constantinople, had died a short time before the emperor Anastasius.

A.D. 518.

July 15. When his successor, John, appeared in the cathedral on the first Sunday after the accession of Justin, he was greeted with loud outcries, that, since the Manichæan Anastasius no longer reigned, the council of Chalcedon should be confirmed, Severus of Antioch, with the rest of the "Manichæans," should be expelled, and a reconciliation should be established with Rome.[q] The new government was disposed to comply with the popular desire; Severus and other monophysites were deprived, and for the most part took refuge at Alexandria, where their party was so strong that the emperor did not venture to excite the unruly population by any attempt against it.[r] But the concourse of monophysite teachers had the effect of producing or bringing to light differences among themselves; and many of them branched off into minor sects—such as Agnoëtes, Aphthartodocetes, and Niobites—whose tenets and history need not be here detailed.[s]

He is said to have been struck by lightning. (Vict. Tunun. A.D. 518). Against this, see Döllinger, 'Papst-Fabeln,' 128.

[o] Evagr. iv. 2; Anon. Vales. ad calc. Amm. Marcell. 668; Gibbon, iii. 482; Finlay, i. 236.

[p] Marcellin. A.D. 520; Vict. Tunun. (Patrol. lxviii. 953); Gibbon, iii. 483.

[q] Conc. Cpol. sub Menna, A.D. 536; Labb. v. 177, seqq.

[r] Evagr. iv. 4; Walch, vii. 185; Schröckh, xviii. 536.

[s] Liberatus, 19; Theophilus Cpol. de Receptione Hæreticorum, in Patrol. Gr. lxxxvi. 56, seqq.; Pagi, ix. 267; Suicer, art. ἀγνοηταὶ; Schröckh, xviii. 538; Giesel. I. iii. 360-3. Walch (viii. 520, seqq.) devotes about 300 unreadable pages to these varieties.

Fresh overtures were now made from Constantinople to Hormisdas of Rome, and all his demands were granted.[t] The names of Acacius and of his four successors who had died during the schism, with those of the emperors Anastasius and Zeno, were removed from the diptychs. The orthodox confessors Euphemius and Macedonius were not distinguished from the heretical Fravitta and Timothy; but Acacius was more especially reprobated by an anathema. It was found, however, that many churches of the east were not so ready as that of Constantinople to abandon the memory of their late bishops; and, as Hormisdas required the sacrifice of all who had communicated with Acacius, the demand occasioned disturbances so serious that both the imperial government and the patriarch repeatedly entreated the pope to abate the rigour of his terms.[u] Hormisdas at length agreed to empower the patriarch Epiphanius, the successor of John, to act for him in receiving the churches into communion.[x] The matter was accommodated by the retention of certain names on the diptychs; and eventually Euphemius and Macedonius, with Flavian of Antioch, Elias of Jerusalem, and some others who had died during the separation, were acknowledged by Rome as saints.[y] The Henoticon, without being formally repealed, from this time disappeared; and everywhere, except in Egypt, the council of Chalcedon was received.[z] A.D. 519.

II. About the same time that Anastasius ascended the throne of Constantinople, the sovereignty of Italy was transferred from the Herulians to the Ostrogoths. Theodoric, prince of the Amali, after having endangered the empire of Zeno, had received his permission to undertake

[t] Patrol. lxiii. 425-58.
[u] Ib. 487, 490, 498, 502, 508, 510.
[x] Ep. 80 (ib.).
[y] Tillem. xvi. 697; Walch, vii. 110-15. Pagi is noticeable on this point (ix. 235-6, 297-9).
[z] Schröckh, xviii. 544.

the conquest of that country. He defeated Odoacer in three great battles, and, after having besieged him for three years in Ravenna, admitted him to a treaty on equal terms. But the Herulian king, on a pretended charge of conspiracy, was soon after stabbed at a banquet—perhaps even by the hand of his colleague and rival—and the Goths became sole masters of Italy.[a]

A.D. 489-90.

A.D. 493.

After the death of Odoacer, Theodoric reigned thirty-three years with vigour and in prosperity.[b] His dominions extended as far as the Danube, and he put a bar to the extension of the Frankish conquests under Clovis.[c] His wisdom and justice were exerted for the establishment of equality between the victorious and the conquered races, and, while he adhered to the Arian creed of his nation, he did not attempt to enforce it on others. "We cannot impose religion by command," he said, "since no one can be made to believe against his will."[d] He employed catholics as his ministers, and entrusted catholic bishops with the most important embassies; he acknowledged the orthodox clergy in their position, bestowed munificent gifts on their churches, and, although unwilling to interfere in the internal concerns of the church, he exercised over the bishops of Rome a control which the later emperors of the west had through weakness allowed to escape from their hands.[e] His toleration (as we have seen[f]) did not extend to the allowance of pagan rites,

[a] Procop. de Bello Goth. i. 1; Anonym. Valesianus (*i.e.* a writer published by Adrien de Valois with Ammianus Marcellinus, Paris, 1681), 665; Jornandes, 57 (Patrol. lxix.); Tillem. Emp. vi. 450-6, 519; Gibbon, 453-6; Milman, Lat. Christ. i. 274.

[b] See Gibbon, c. 39; Milman, Lat. Christ. b. iii. c. 3.

[c] Gibbon, iii. 458-69.

[d] Cassiodorus, Variarum, ii. 27 (Patrol. lxix.); Anon. Vales. 666. Theodore the Reader relates that Theodoric beheaded a deacon who had thought to court his favour by turning Arian (ii. 18); but the story is rejected by Gibbon (iii. 470) and Dean Milman (Lat. Christ. i. 282).

[e] Baron. 494. 57; Gibbon, iii. 469, 471; Revillout, 300-3, 313; Milman, Lat. Christ. i. 281-2.

[f] P. 248.

although he exerted a watchful care to preserve the monuments of Roman greatness;[g] but it included the Jews, whom he steadily protected against the outrages of their Christian neighbours.[h]

So long as Rome and Constantinople were separated by schism, Theodoric had no reason to distrust the loyalty of his catholic subjects. But the reconciliation of the churches, in the beginning of Justin's reign, suggested to him that the Romans might be tempted to look towards the east for deliverance from the sway of a barbarian conqueror; and in no long time his anger and alarm were excited by the measures which Justin took for the purpose of establishing unity of religion. In 523 the emperor issued edicts by which it was ordered that Manichæans should be capitally punished; that other heretics should not be allowed to celebrate their worship; and that, with Jews, Pagans, and Samaritans, they should be excluded from civil or military employment.[i] The Gothic soldiery of the empire were, indeed, exempted from this law; but Theodoric was bent on securing, not only for his own nation but for the oriental members of his sect, the same freedom of religion which he allowed to his catholic subjects. He earnestly remonstrated with Justin by letter;[k] and, as the reply was unsatisfactory, he despatched to Constantinople an embassy consisting of John, bishop of Rome, five other bishops, and four senators. It was the first time that a pope had visited the eastern capital. John was received with unbounded reverence; almost the whole population of the city poured forth to greet his arrival, bearing torches and crosses in their hands, and the emperor cast himself at his feet. The patriarch of

A.D. 525.

[g] See Gregorov. i. 278, seqq.

[h] Cassiod. Variar. ii. 27; iii. 45; iv. 43; v. 37 (letters written by Cassiodorus in the king's name).

[i] Cod. Justin. I. v. 12, 14.

[k] Milman, Lat. Christ. i. 299.

Constantinople yielded him precedence, and Justin submitted to a new coronation by the hands of the successor of St. Peter.[1] But on his return to Italy, John was cast into prison, where he soon after died. The reasons of his imprisonment are matter of uncertainty and dispute; the most probable opinion appears to be, that the bishop, although he successfully performed the other parts of the commission, had refused to ask that Arians who had professed catholicism might be allowed to return to their heresy; and that the jealousy of Theodoric was also offended by the excessive honours which had been paid to him by the eastern court.[m] The dread of conspiracy against his rule had exasperated the aged king to gloomy and relentless suspicion of his Italian subjects, which had already been fatal to two of the most distinguished among them,—Boëthius and Symmachus. Boëthius had filled the highest offices of the state;[n] while his genius and the learning in which he was believed to surpass all his contemporaries had been displayed in works embracing an extraordinary variety of subjects and modes of composition—history, poetry, theology, philosophy, music, mathematics, astronomy, and other branches of physical science. He had long enjoyed the favour of Theodoric; but his character as a patriot, and perhaps also as a catholic,[o] rendered his

A.D. 526.

[1] Marcellinus, A.D. 525; Anastas. 126; Gibbon, iii. 473.

[m] Anon. Vales. 671. See Baron. 525. 8, 10 (who—although avowedly without any authority of ancient writers, except a letter forged in the name of John—maintains that the pope acted in direct opposition to his instructions); Pagi, ix. 349, 351; Acta SS., Mai. 27; Schröckh, xvi. 102; xviii. 214-16; Gibbon, iii. 473; Revillout, 325-7; Milman, Lat. Christ. i. 301-2.

[n] Boëth. de Consol. Philos. ii. Prosa 3 (Patrol. lxiii.).

[o] This has been commonly believed until late times, and in some places Boëthius is honoured as a saint (Acta SS., Mai. 27, p. 700). But even his Christianity is now regarded as very questionable (see Stanley, in Smith's Dictionary, art. *Boethius*), and Prof. Schaarschmidt refers to F. Nitzsch, 'Das System des Boëthius,' Berlin, 1860, as having proved the spuriousness of the theological works ascribed to him. 'Joh. Saresberiensis,' 119, Leipz. 1862. See as to Boëthius, Merivale, Boyle Lectures, ii. 68.

position hazardous, and the zeal with which he asserted the innocence of his friend Albinus, who was accused of a treasonable correspondence with the east, exposed him to a share in the accusation. A signature, which he declared to be forged, was produced as evidence against him; he was denied the opportunity of defending himself, and, a short time before the mission of John to Constantinople, was committed to a tower at or near Pavia,[p] where he solaced himself by the composition of his famous books 'On the Consolation of Philosophy.'[q] After having been cruelly tortured, Boëthius was beaten to death with clubs, and his father-in-law, the venerable chief of the senate, Symmachus, on an apprehension that the desire of vengeance might tempt him to treason, was soon after summoned to Ravenna and beheaded.[r] A.D. 524.

Theodoric himself did not long survive. It is said that, in indignation at the result of the mission to Constantinople, he went so far as to dictate an edict for the suppression of the catholic worship in Italy; although, if this statement be true, it is certain that the law was not carried into effect.[s] But the feelings which the once just and tolerant king had aroused by the severities of his last days, are apparent from the stories connected with his death. Procopius tells us that he was haunted by a frightful vision, in which remorse called up before his eyes the form of the murdered Symmachus;[t] and a legend, to which the name of Pope A.D. 526.

[p] See Tiraboschi, iii. 137.

[q] The fact that this work contains nothing distinctively Christian, has often been remarked.

[r] Pagi, ix. 337, 341, 355; Gibbon, iii. 474-8; Milman, Lat. Christ. i. 302-5.

[s] Dean Milman argues (Lat. Christ. 305) that the statement of the 'Anonymus Valesianus' (p 671) is "utterly irreconcilable with [Theodoric's] judicious and conciliatory conduct on the elevation of the pope," Felix IV., in the month before his own death. On the whole, I cannot but think that the historian of Latin Christianity is somewhat partial to Theodoric.

[t] Procop. de Bello Goth. i. 1. p. 310.

Gregory the Great gave currency and credit, relates that a hermit on the island of Lipari saw the Arian persecutor cast by Symmachus and Pope John into the crater of the volcano, which was believed to be the entrance of hell.[u]

A.D. 527-565.

III. In April 527, Justinian was formally associated with his uncle as a colleague, and in August of the same year he became sole emperor, at the age of forty-five.[x] Among the secular events of his long reign, the wars in Italy and in Africa had an important bearing on the history of religion.

Among the Vandals of Africa, the possession of the means of luxury had speedily proved fatal to that purity of manners which Salvian at an earlier time had indignantly contrasted with the depravity of his brethren who professed a sounder faith.[y] The valour of the barbarians was undermined by the temptations of sensual enjoyment;[z] the usurper Gelimer was dethroned by the arms of the imperial general, Belisarius; and some years later,

A.D. 533-4.

on a rebellion of the Vandals and Moors, the country was completely subjugated.[a] After the first conquest the catholic church was restored to its ascendency,[b] although the bishops were reduced to one-half or one-third of their ancient number.[c] It is reckoned that during the reign of Justinian Africa lost five millions

A.D. 539-541.

of inhabitants; thus Arianism was extinguished in that region, not by an enforcement of conformity, but by the extermination of the race which had introduced and professed it.[d]

[u] Greg. Dialog. iv. 30. Such stories became common afterwards. See, *e.g.*, Cæsarius of Heisterbach's Dialogues, book 12, and Thomas of Eccleston in 'Monumenta Franciscana' (Chron. and Mem.) 67.

[x] Gibbon, iii. 485.

[y] De Gubern. Dei, vii. 20.

[z] Procop. de Bello Vandal. ii. 6, p. 248; Rückert, i. 245-51.

[a] Procop. de B. Vand.; Gibbon, iv. 3-23, 117-22.

[b] Justin. Novell. 37.

[c] Only 217 could now be gathered for a council. Fleury, xxxii. 49.

[d] Procop. Hist. Arcana, 18, p. 53 Gibbon, iv. 122.

The Ostrogoths of Italy, after the death of Theodoric, were distracted by factions and crimes.[e] The military achievements of Belisarius and Narses in the peninsula threw a last and deceptive splendour over the power of the eastern empire. By these generals the Gothic kings, Vitiges (537-9), Totila (546-52), and Teias (553), were successively defeated, the invasions of the Franks and the Alemanni were repelled;[f] and from the year 554, Narses, with the title of exarch, administered the government of Italy as a deputy of the emperor.[g] The sufferings of the country during the revolutions of this period were greater than those which it has endured in any other of its calamities, whether earlier or later; the number of its inhabitants who perished by war, by famine, or in other ways, is supposed to have exceeded the whole of its modern population.[h] With the Gothic monarchy, Arianism for a time disappeared from Italy.[i]

Justinian lived strictly[k] and spent much of his time in theological studies. He was fond of mixing in controversy and of acting as a regulator in religion, so that his subjects derided him for devoting himself to such matters, while he left the great political and military affairs of the empire to the management of his ministers and generals.[l] He was munificent in his gifts for building churches and hospitals;[m] but it is said that the means of this liberality were too commonly obtained by extortion, corrupt administration of justice, false accusations, and wrongful confis-

[e] Gibbon, iv. 34-42.

[f] Procop. de B. Goth. See Gibbon, chs. xli., xliii.; Finlay, i. 293-308.

[g] Gibbon, iv. 149.

[h] Ib. 150, with Milman's note. Procopius mentions that many members of the Roman aristocracy were reduced to beg from door to door—among them Rusticiana, the daughter of Symmachus and widow of Boëthius De B. Goth. iii. 20.

[i] Revillout, 349.

[k] Procopius, however, says, that, while self-denying as to food, drink, and sleep, he was very dissolute. Hist. Arcana, 12, p. 39; 13, p. 41.

[l] Procopius, Hist. Arcana, 18, p. 55; De B. Goth. iii. 35, p. 349.

[m] See Procop. de Ædificiis.

cation.[n] The greatest architectural monument of his reign was the patriarchal church of the eternal Wisdom (St. Sophia). This church had been originally built by Constantine; it had been destroyed by fire at the time of Chrysostom's banishment,[o] and, after having been then restored, was again burnt down in the tumult known by the name of *Nika*.[p] Justinian rebuilt it at a vast expense;[q] and as he cast his eyes around the magnificent structure on the day of the dedication, after expressing his thankfulness to God who had permitted him to accomplish so great a work, he exclaimed, "O Solomon, I have surpassed thee!"[r] The dome of the church was afterwards shattered by an earthquake; but Justinian restored it with increased height and splendour, and performed a second dedication in the thirty-sixth year of his reign.[s] The establishment of the cathedral was fixed by one of his laws at the number of 60 priests, 100 deacons, 40 deaconesses, 90 subdeacons, 110 readers, 25 singers, and 100 ostiaries;[t] and, ample as this provision may seem, the law was set forth as a check on the practice of bishops, who had been in the habit of ordaining clergy without any limit, and without considering whether the church had the means of supporting them.

A.D. 532.

A.D. 544.

A.D. 557.

A.D. 562.

To the reign of Justinian is referred the extinction of philosophical heathenism. The Neoplatonists had until then continued to teach at Athens. They were obliged

[n] Hist. Arcana, 8, 13, 14; Baron. 565. 7, and Pagi's notes; Evagr. iv. 30.

[o] See p. 115.

[p] For this sedition, which arose out of a quarrel between the blue and the green factions of the circus, see Procop. de Bello Persico, i. 24; Gibbon, iii. 497.

[q] By way of precaution against fire, no wood was used—the materials being bound together with iron. Agath. v. 9.

[r] Codinus de Originibus Cpol. p. 71, ed Paris; Gibbon, iii. 520.

[s] Theophanes, 277, ed. Paris; Pagi, x. 209 The description of St. Sophia's, by Paul the Silentiary, with Du Cange's commentary, is in Patrol. Gr. lxxxvi. Cf. Procop. Gaz. ib. lxxxvii. 2825, seqq.

[t] Novell. iii. c. 1. There is a general law against unlimited ordination. Novell. vi. 8.

outwardly to respect the religion of the state; but their esoteric doctrines were pagan, and their system, in its mysticism and in its pretension to intercourse with higher powers, bore a curious resemblance to the superstitions which were at the same time growing on the church.[u] With a view to depriving paganism of its last support, Justinian in 529 ordered that the schools of Athens should be closed; whereupon Simplicius[x] and six other philosophers, who were bereft of their occupation by the edict, feeling themselves insecure within the imperial territories, resolved to emigrate to Persia and seek the patronage of King Chosroes, of whose enlightenment they had heard exaggerated celebrations, and whose subjects had been described to them as faultless models of every social virtue. But although they were well received by the king, they found their expectations grievously disappointed, and sighed for their native country, to which they eagerly desired to return, even at the risk of encountering persecution. In a treaty with Justinian, Chosroes stipulated that they should be exempted from the penal laws against their religion; they lived unmolested during the remainder of their days, and left no disciples or successors.[y]

A.D. 531.

In the same year with his order for closing the Athenian schools, the emperor enacted that all pagans and heretics should be excluded from civil or military office. They were allowed three months to choose between conformity and banishment; or, if permitted to remain without abjuring their errors, they were to be deprived of all civil privileges. A great mass of pretended conversions was the result; while the edict produced a serious insurrection among the Samari-

A.D. 529.

[u] Gibbon, iii. 540; Neand. iv. 118; vi. 376-7; Giesel. ii. 33.

[x] See Neand. vi. 377-82.

[y] Agathias, ii. 30; Gibbon, iii. 540. Agathias has a curious passage on the exaggerations which were current as to the barbarian king's accomplishments. ii. 28.

tains,[z] and many sectaries, who abhorred the hypocrisy of changing their religion at the emperor's command, were driven by desperation to suicide. The most noted act of this kind was performed by some Montanists in Phrygia, who shut themselves up in their meeting-houses, set fire to them, and perished in the flames.[a]

Although Justinian was a "synodite,"[b] or partisan of the council of Chalcedon, his wife Theodora, whom he raised to the position of a colleague in the empire,[c] was a zealous monophysite. As her influence over her husband was unbounded in all other respects, it has been suggested that this division of theological interests may have been a matter of politic arrangement between the imperial pair.[d] Theodora gathered round her a party of monophysites; she prevailed on Justinian to invite Severus, the expelled patriarch of Antioch, to the capital, and even promoted Anthimus, a secret enemy of the council of Chalcedon, to the patriarchate of Constantinople.[e] In the year after this appointment, Agapetus, bishop of Rome, was obliged by the Gothic king Theodahat to undertake a mission to Constantinople, for the purpose of averting a threatened attack of Justinian. The mission failed of its political object; but at the request of the catholic party, Agapetus exposed to the emperor the heterodoxy of Anthimus, and obtained his deposition on the ground that he had been uncanonically translated from another

A.D. 535.

A.D. 536.

[z] Procop. Hist. Arc. 11. p. 35.

[a] Ib. pp. 34-5. Compare vol. iii. p. 42.

[b] See Dean Payne Smith, note on John of Ephesus, 6.

[c] Gibbon, iii. 491. Dean Milman, in a note at p. 487 of that volume, gives a caution against implicitly believing "the extreme and disgusting depravity of Theodore's early life" which Gibbon relates with even more than his usual delight in such details), as the only authority for it is the 'Secret History' of Procopius (cc. 9, 10, &c.)—"a virulent libel—the basest and most disgraceful work in literature." Comp. Pagi in Baron. t. x. 236.

[d] Procop. Hist. Arc. 13, p. 40; Liberat. 20 (Patrol. lxxiii.); Evagr iv. 10.

[e] Liberat. 20, col. 1036; Fleury, xxxii. 52; Walch, vii. 172-4.

see. Mennas, who was raised to the vacant chair, was consecrated by the pope, and soon after held a council, at which Anthimus, after an examination of his opinions, was found guilty of heresy and was excommunicated.[f]

Agapetus died at Constantinople before the meeting of this council, and Vigilius, his archdeacon, who had accompanied him, was urged by Theodora to become a candidate for the papacy. The emperor promised to support him with influence and with money, if he would condemn the council of Chalcedon, and would communicate with Anthimus and other monophysites; but before he could reach Rome, a subdeacon named Sylverius, son of Pope Hormisdas, was elected.[g] In the following year, while Belisarius was besieged in Rome by the Goths, Sylverius was summoned to appear before him. The general's wife, Antonina, who was reclining on a couch, while Belisarius occupied a place at her feet, reproached the pope for having entered into a treasonable correspondence with the enemy. His attempts at denial were overpowered by the production of written evidence; he was immediately stripped of the ensigns of his dignity, and was sent off by sea to the east,[h] while Vigilius was elected in his room, and paid for the interest of Belisarius two hundred pounds of gold.[i] Sylverius, after having been banished to Patara, in Lycia, was sent back to Italy by

A.D. 537.

Hard. ii. 1257-62; Liberat. 21; Patrol. lxvi. 47, seqq.; Evagr. iv. 11; Baron. 536. 9, seqq.; 17, seqq.; 80-4, and Pagi's notes; Schröckh, xvi. 222, where it is shown, against Baronius, that the appointment of Mennas was not by papal authority. Comp. Barrow, 559; Walch, vii. 17-18, 180, 184; Neand. iv. 246.

[g] Liberat. 22; Baron. 536. 133; Walch, vii. 224-6.

[h] Liberat. 22; Anastas. 130; Pagi, ix. 568. Gibbon (iv 501) and Lord Stanhope (Life of Belisarius, ed. 1, pp. 226-8) suppose Sylverius to have been guilty; but most writers think that the evidence against him was forged in consequence of a plot between Theodora and Antonina. See Dupin, v. 68; Fleury, xxxii. 57; Walch, vii. 226; Schröckh, xvii. 226; Neand. iv. 247.

[i] Liberat. 22. On this transaction Baronius (538. 12. seqq.) is remarkable. His attempts to clear away some part of the story are acknowledged by Pagi to be unsuccessful.

Justinian, in order to a fresh investigation of his case;[k] but through the contrivance of the intruder he was seized and carried off to the island of Palmaria (Palmarola), where he died of hunger.[l] Although, however, Vigilius had thus delivered himself from his rival, his position was one of much difficulty and danger; for he had made a secret compact with Theodora to labour against the council of Chalcedon, while his public engagements bound him to an opposite line of conduct.[m]

From about the year 520, the monasteries of Palestine had been agitated by disturbances on the subject of Origen's opinions, which were especially maintained by the members of the "New Laura" (a society founded by St. Sabbas, in the beginning of the century), while the other monks were for the most part violent anti-Origenists. There had been censures, expulsions, frequent affrays, and considerable bloodshed.[n] The patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem were unable to allay the differences, and Justinian was well pleased to receive an appeal in the matter. He published a letter to the patriarch Mennas, censuring certain doctrines extracted or inferred from Origen's writings; he declared that these doctrines were borrowed from Plato and the Manichæans (apparently forgetting that Manes was later than Origen); and he desired the patriarch to bring the question before the home synod.[o] By this body the opinions of Origen were again censured, and fifteen anathemas were pronounced against them.[p] The imperial manifesto was

[k] Baronius (540. 4-10) says that after the death of Sylverius, and some miracles wrought by his relics, Vigilius resigned the popedom, was legitimately re-appointed to it, and thenceforth became another man; but Pagi shows that there is no ground for this story.

[l] Liberat. 22; Baron. 539. 1-9; 540. 2.

[m] Liberat. 22; Victor. Tunun., Patrol. lxviii. 563. Bp. Hefele questions the story of his compact with the empress. ii. 795.

[n] Baron. 532; 538. 29, seqq; Pagi, ix. 441. 7; Fleury, xxxiii. 3; Mosh. ii. 44-5; Schröckh, xviii. 43.

[o] Hard. iii. 243-81; Liberat. 23.

[p] Hard. iii. 284-8. These anathemas were long supposed to have proceeded from the fifth general council; but it appears to be now agreed that they

subscribed by Vigilius and by the four patriarchs of the east;[q] but the course of ecclesiastical politics now took a curious and unexpected turn.

Theodore Ascidas, a monk of Origenistic opinions, who had been appointed to the bishoprick of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, but usually resided at Constantinople, had acquired great influence over Justinian. By some process of casuistry, he prevailed on himself to sign the anathemas against Origen; but he felt the necessity of diverting the emperor's mind from the dangerous direction which it had taken. Knowing Justinian's anxiety to reduce the Acephali[r] to conformity, Theodore told him that their opposition to the council of Chalcedon did not arise from repugnance to its doctrines, but from its acknowledgment of persons suspected of Nestorianism—such as Theodoret and Ibas; he therefore suggested that, by a condemnation of these bishops, with the reputed father of Nestorianism, Theodore of Mopsuestia, the prejudices of the party might be overcome, and they might be won to a reconciliation with the church. As for the objection to condemning persons who had died in the catholic communion, it was (he said) removed by the late precedent of the anathemas against Origen. By this suggestion Ascidas may have hoped not only to secure the important object of engaging the emperor in a new question, but doubly to gratify himself—as an Origenist, by proscribing the great master of literal interpretation, and as a monophysite, by striking a blow at the authority of the fourth general council.[s]

The device was in so far successful that, instead of

belong to a local synod under Mennas (see n. on Mosheim, ii. 47; Hefele, ii. 767). By some this is supposed to have been the same which condemned Anthimus in 536 (Walch, vii. 181, 673; Guericke, i. 486). Schröckh (xviii. 51) places it about 540; Pagi (ix. 584) and Hefele (l. c.) in 543; and Gieseler (I. i. 368) in 544.

[q] Liberat. 23.

[r] See p. 277.

[s] Liberat. 24; Evagr. iv. 38: Neand. iv. 249-53.

controversies as to Origenism and monophysitism, the general attention was soon occupied by a dispute whether certain writings a century old were favourable to Nestorianism. Justinian published an edict in which he condemned Theodore of Mopsuestia and his works, Theodoret's writings in favour of Nestorius and against Cyril, and a letter from Ibas to a Persian named Maris. This letter, written under great exasperation, severely reflected on Cyril; but its orthodoxy as to doctrine had been expressly acknowledged at Chalcedon.[t] The emperor, however, contrived to reconcile his condemnation of the letter with his profession of respect for the council by the supposition that a forged document had been substituted for that which the fathers of Chalcedon had approved.[u] It was required that the edict should be subscribed by all bishops. Mennas signed it with the stipulation that he should be at liberty to retract his signature if the bishop of Rome should refuse to concur—a reservation of which he did not afterwards avail himself.[x] The eastern bishops in general submitted, although the patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, with many others, showed much reluctance to subscribe;[y] the few who refused were banished. But in Africa, where the old independent spirit of the church had been exercised in opposition to the temporal power during the century of Vandal oppression, the proposal met with a lively resistance.[z] The African bishops protested against reopening questions which the council of Chalcedon had settled, or condemning persons who had died in the communion of the church; and a like disposition to resist was displayed in other

A.D. 544 (?)

[t] Labb. iv. 661-82. As to the date, see Hefele, ii. 787. On the merits of the 'Three Articles,' ib. 779-85.

[u] Fragments of the edict are preserved by Facundus, Pro defens III. Capitulorum, ii. 3; iv. 4 (Patrol. lxvii. 561, 628). Giesel. I. ii. 370.

[x] Facund. iv. 4; Baron. 546. 45-8.

[y] Facund. iv. 4.

[z] Baron. 546. 51-3.

quarters. The commotions rose to such a height that Ascidas is said to have afterwards owned that he himself, and the Roman deacon Pelagius, who had been concerned in bringing the Origenistic question under the emperor's notice, deserved to be burnt alive as the authors of them.[a]

Vigilius, alarmed by these events and by the temper of his own clergy,[b] refused to sign the edict, and was obliged by the emperor (who probably apprehended a new division between the eastern and western churches) to repair to Constantinople, where he was detained upwards of seven years.[c] His legate Stephen, with other ecclesiastics of the west, who were then at Constantinople, had broken off communion with Mennas, on the ground that the patriarch ought not to have acted in the matter, except, as had been before agreed, in concert with the pope.[d] Vigilius at first refused to communicate with Mennas, but was persuaded to an agreement with him by Theodora, who died in the year after the pope's arrival;[e] and he bound himself to Justinian by a secret written engagement[f] to condemn the 'three articles'[g]—by which name the points in question as to Theodore, Theodoret, and Ibas were generally designated. The pope submitted the matter to a synod of seventy western bishops, which was held at Constantinople in 548; but as the African members steadily refused to lend themselves to his change of policy, it

A.D. 545.

[a] Liberat. 24; Neand. iii. 248; iv. 253-5.

[b] The Roman clergy, being at a loss how to act in the new differences, applied to the learned African deacon Ferrandus for advice, and were guided by his answer. Ferrand. Ep. 6 (Patrol. lxvii.); Walch, viii. 150.

[c] Baron. 546. 55, seqq. He was in Sicily in 545, but did not reach Constantinople until January 25, 547. Pagi, x. 16-28; Walch, viii. 115, 163-5; Clinton; Jaffé.

[d] Facund. iv. 4.

[e] July, 548; Murat. Annali, III. ii. 186.

[f] Walch, viii. 168-70. See Hefele, ii. 795.

[g] Κεφάλαια, *capitula*. As the usual translation of this word by *chapters* is likely to mislead, I have preferred the word *articles*. See Giesel. I. ii. 370.

became evident that no favourable decision was to be obtained, and he broke up the assembly.[h] Vigilius then endeavoured to gain the bishops individually, and sent forth a document known by the title of his *Judicatum*, in which he attempted to satisfy both parties—the orientals, by condemning the three articles; the Latins, by professing that he did so without prejudice to the council of Chalcedon.[i] But in the latter object he was utterly disappointed. An African synod, under Reparatus of Carthage, excommunicated him;[k] the churches of Illyria and Dalmatia were roused to vehement opposition, and the commotion reached as far as Gaul and Scythia; even some of the pope's own deacons, who had accompanied him to Constantinople, charged their master with an abandonment of the council of Chalcedon, and returned to agitate the west against him.[l] Facundus, bishop of Hermiane, in Africa, who had distinguished himself in the council of Constantinople, addressed to the emperor in 549 an able and spirited defence of the three articles. He maintained the orthodoxy of Theodore of Mopsuestia; he argued that he, Theodoret, and Ibas, could not be condemned without impugning the council of Chalcedon, and doing away with its authority against Eutychianism; and he plainly desired the emperor to take warning from a comparison between those of his predecessors who had left the decision of theological questions to the bishops, and those who had ventured to arrogate it to themselves.[m]

A.D. 548.

A.D. 549.

The only means to which Vigilius could now look for

[h] Facund. Præf. ad Def. III. Capit.; Liber c. Mocianum, col. 859; Neand. iv. 258.

Pagi, x. 33, 38; Schröckh, xviii. 579-80. Only fragments of the 'Judicatum' now exist. Patrol. lxix. 34; Walch, viii 175; Hefele, ii. 797.

[k] Vict. Tunun. A.D. 550; Pagi, x. 56.

[l] Rusticus c. Acephalos (Patrol lxvii.); Vigil. Ep. 14 (ib. lxix.); Facundus, iv. 3; Baron. 548. 2, seqq.

[m] Liberat. xii. 3-5.

deliverance from the perplexity in which he found himself, between the emperor's wishes on the one hand and the determined opposition of his western brethren on the other, was a general council; he therefore proposed that such an assembly should be summoned, and withdrew his 'Judicatum' until it should meet.[n] Justinian assented; but, apprehending that the pope might perhaps attempt some evasion under shelter of the council, he bound him by fresh obligations, which were confirmed by an oath on the nails of the holy cross and on the Gospels, to exert all his power for the advancement of the imperial designs.[o] When, however, the emperor also put forth a long and detailed profession of faith, which he required the pope and other bishops to sign,[p] Vigilius refused, threatened to excommunicate those who should comply, and with Datius, archbishop of Milan, who was especially strenuous in his refusal, took refuge in a church. A prætor was sent with a guard to seize him. The pope placed himself under the altar, and, while the soldiers attempted to drag him out by his feet, his hair, and his beard, he clung so firmly to the pillars that some of them gave way, and the table would have fallen on him if some clerks had not supported it. On this the spectators of the scandalous scene broke forth into loud outcries, in which even some of the soldiers joined; and the prætor was shamed into desisting from his attempt.[q] Vigilius was induced by oaths of safety to leave the church, but, finding himself guarded by imperial soldiers in his lodging, he escaped with Datius and other companions by night to Chalcedon, and fled for sanctuary to the church of St. Euphemia—the same in which the general council had held its sessions exactly a century before. At length,

A.D. 551.

A.D. 551.

Dec. 23, 551.

[n] Patrol. lxix. 115.
[o] Juram. Vigilii, Patrol. lxix. 121.
[p] Ib. 225, seqq.
[q] Vigil. Ep. 15 (ib. 55); Ep. Cler. Ital. ib. 117; Acta SS., Jan. 14, p. 252.

after many overtures from the emperor, he was persuaded to return to Constantinople.[r]

Aug. 552. While Vigilius was in retirement at Chalcedon, the patriarch Mennas died, and the see of Constantinople was conferred on Eutychius, who had recommended himself to the emperor by discovering a scriptural precedent for the condemnation of deceased heterodox theologians—namely, the burning of the bones of idolaters by Josiah.[s]

The fifth general council met at Constantinople in May 553. It was attended by a hundred and sixty-five bishops, including all the eastern patriarchs; but from the west there were only five African bishops.[t] As the absence of Vigilius gave reason to apprehend a division in the church, he was repeatedly summoned, and was urgently requested by the other patriarchs to attend; but he obstinately refused—sometimes on the plea of illness, sometimes alleging that faith had not been kept with him in obtaining a fair representation of the western church. He sent to the emperor a paper signed by himself and sixteen other bishops, and designated by the title of *Constitutum*, in which he endeavoured to take a middle course, by condemning the writings which were in question, but without reflecting on the authors—even on Theodore of Mopsuestia.[u] On this, Justinian caused the secret engagements which Vigilius had made with him to be laid before the council, and desired that the pope might be excluded from the diptychs—professing at the same time a wish to remain in communion with the

[r] Vigil. Ep. 15; Pagi, x. 74; Schröckh, xviii. 595.

[s] (II Kings xxiii. 16). Evagr. iv. 38.

[t] Reparatus of Carthage had gone to Constantinople for the purpose of attending the council, but, as it was found that he would not comply with Justinian's wishes, he was banished on a charge of a crime against the state. The court named a successor, who before consecration condemned the 'three articles'; and he was established in his see at the cost of some bloodshed. Other African bishops were successfully tampered with. Ep. Cler. Ital. 116; Walch, viii. 196-7.

[u] Patrol. lxix. 67, seqq.

Roman see; and the council acted accordingly.[x] The three articles were condemned, and an anathema was pronounced against all who should defend them or should pretend that they were countenanced by the synod of Chalcedon.[y] The memory of Theodoret and Ibas was spared; but Theodore was included in the same condemnation with his writings. The four earlier general councils were confirmed. The emperor's edicts relating to matters of religion were approved; but, except by this indirect implication, it does not appear that the opinions of Origen were censured or noticed.[z]

Some months later, Vigilius—pressed by the censure of the council, frightened by the punishment of some who opposed it,[a] and influenced also by the success of the arms of Narses, which had secured Italy to the emperor—made a humiliating submission to the decisions of the assembly,[b] in which he ascribed his past difference of opinion to the craft of the devil; and he repeated this in a longer paper, withdrawing all his acts on the other side. The emperor then granted A.D. 554. him permission to return to his see, and Vigilius set out for Rome; but on his way to the city, he died at Syracuse,[c] on the 7th of June, 555. His archdeacon, Pelagius, succeeded him, through the influence of Justinian, who

[x] Baluz. Coll. Nova Concil. 1538-46.

[y] Hard. iii. 194, 197-200; Evagr. iv. 38.

[z] This, however, is questioned. See Baron. 553. 238-44, with Pagi's notes; Mosh. ii. 47, and notes; Walch, viii. 281-91; Schröckh, xviii. 57-8, 600; Neand. iv. 381-2; Giesel. I. ii. 372; Hefele, ii. 874.

[a] Anastasius (Patrol. cxxvii. 580), followed by Nat. Alex. (x. 51), Baronius (353. 223), Pagi (ib.; Patrol. cxxvii. 610), and Nat. Alex. (x. 51), says that Vigilius was himself banished; but this seems to be very questionable.

[b] Hard. iii. 214-44. The behaviour of Vigilius naturally exercises the ingenuity of Baronius, who defends him from the charge of inconsistency on the ground that, as the question was not one of faith, the pope might rightly act in each stage of it as for the time seemed best (553. 230-7). The council, he says, although in itself undeserving of respect, acquired the authority of a general council through being acknowledged by Vigilius or Pelagius (553. 224, 229). Comp. the remarks on the whole controversy, 546. 38-40 547. 29-30, 46-7.

[c] See Pagi and Marsi, in Baron. x; 153; Jaffé

on this occasion for the first time assumed for the imperial crown the privilege of confirming the election;[d] but—whether from the odium attached to him as a partaker in the late pope's policy, or because (according to another account) he was suspected of having contributed to the sufferings and death of Vigilius—Pelagius could not find more than two bishops willing to consecrate him. It is said that, in order to dissipate the suspicions which were entertained against him, he ascended the pulpit of St. Peter's, and swore on the Gospels and on the cross that he had had no share in causing the misfortunes of his predecessor.[e]

A.D. 556-9. Pelagius adhered to the late council, and, with the aid of Narses, enforced the acceptance of it by deprivation, banishment, and other penalties.[f] But in the west—where the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia were unknown, where the reliance of the Nestorians on his name was not actually seen, and could not beget a prejudice against him, where the condemnation of Theodoret and Ibas was chiefly regarded as endangering the authority of the council of Chalcedon—the decisions of the fifth council were very generally resisted, even by those who were subjects of the empire.

A.D. 570-580. The bishops of the Italian diocese separated from Rome on this account; and, although Milan and Ravenna were soon forced by the terror of the Lombard invasion to seek a reconciliation, the metropolitans of Aquileia, with the Istrian bishops, remained in separation for nearly a century and a half.[g]

[d] Pagi, x. 155. It had before been exercised by the Gothic kings. Ibid.

[e] Anastas. 59.

[f] See his letters to Narses, Patrol. lxix. 393, seqq.; to Valerian, 414; Baron. 556. 1-9, 12-15.

[g] Until 698 or 701. There were, however, partial reconciliations from time to time. (Baron. 556. 116; 638. 4; 698. 8; Fleury, xxxiii. 54-6; xxxviii. 17; Gibbon, iv. 368; Giesel. I. ii. 410.) It seems to have been at this time that the bishops of Aquileia assumed the title of patriarch. The patriarch of Aquileia was afterwards driven to fix himself at Grado; and,

Among the variety of opinions which had sprung out of the monophysite controversy, was one broached by Julian of Halicarnassus, while a refugee at Alexandria in the reign of Justin.[h] This teacher maintained that the Saviour's body was incorruptible; that it was exempt from death, even as Adam's body would have been, if he had retained his innocence;[i] that it was the same before as after the resurrection; that His hunger, thirst, weariness, and the like, did not necessarily arise from the constitution of His human nature, but were feelings to which He voluntarily subjected Himself.[k] From their fancy of incorruptibility the followers of Julian were called *Aphthartodocetæ*—a name which they retaliated on their opponents by that of *Phthartolatræ* (servants or worshippers of the corruptible).[l] Justinian, in his extreme old age, fell into the opinions of Julian —probably through the influence of Theodore Ascidas;[m] and in January 565 he published an edict asserting the aphthartodocetic doctrine, and required all bishops to subscribe it. Eutychius of Constantinople, who refused on the ground that it reduced the whole Incarnation to a mere appearance, was expelled for his contumacy.[n] The eastern bishops for the most part professed that they would follow Anastasius of Antioch, whose character was held in general estimation; and this patriarch strongly maintained, with arguments from Scripture and from the belief of the church, that in all blameless affections the

on the removal of his residence back to Aquileia, a new patriarchate of Grado was erected. Nat. Alex. x. 149; Thomass. I. i. 21.

[h] Liberat. 19.

[i] Dorner, ii. 160.

[k] See Petav. de Inc. x. 3; Suicer, art. ἀφθαρτοδοκηταί.

[l] Liberat. 19; Phot. Bibl. cod. 162, p. 348; Schröckh, xviii. 610, 648-50.

[m] Baron. 564. 6.

[n] Id. 563; 564. 5, 11, Pagi, x. 214-15. He was restored in 577, on the death of John, who had been put into his place. (Joh. Ephes. 134, 142-5; Baron. 578. 6, with Pagi's notes.) Eutychius afterwards treated the monophysites with a severity which has drawn on him the denunciations of John of Ephesus, who himself belonged to the party (*e.g.* p. 200.)

Saviour's body was like to ours. Anastasius was pre-
Nov. 14, 565. paring for deprivation, and had composed a farewell letter to his flock, when the proceedings against the orthodox were brought to an end by the death of the emperor, at the age of eighty.[o]

Monophysitism, when discountenanced by the emperors, continued to exist in countries beyond their dominions, and also among the populations of Syria and Egypt.

The Armenians had been under the Persian yoke since the year 369.[p] After a long resistance to attempts at enforcing the magian religion on them,[q] they had been allowed to preserve their Christianity. But they were still liable to persecution; and whereas a community of religion had formerly obtained for them the alliance of the Romans, they found that a Christianity different from that authorized by the emperors was a recommendation to the favour of their new masters. Interest, therefore, concurred with other motives in leading them to the adoption of a monophysite creed. At the synod of Thwin or Dovin, in 596,[r] the Armenian church condemned the council of Chalcedon, and to this day it holds the aphthartodocetic doctrine as to the body of our Lord.[s]

In Syria, where the monophysite bishops and clergy had been removed by exile, imprisonment, and other means of persecution, a monk named Jacob undertook the enterprise of preserving his party from extinction. With this design, he sought out some monophysite prelates who were imprisoned at Constantinople, and

[o] Evagr. iv. 40-1; Walch, viii. 590-9, 600-4; Neand. iv. 267-8. Mansi (in Bar. x. 232) contends that 566 was the year of Justinian's death.

[p] Gibbon, ii. 432.

[q] See, *e.g.*, John of Ephesus, 118, seqq.; St. Martin, Mém. sur l'Arménie, i. 322-7, &c.

[r] On the date see Walch, viii. 480; Giesel. I. ii. 376; Hefele, ii. 697.

[s] Gibbon, iv. 385-6; Neand. iii. 161; iv. 271-2; Giesel. I. ii. 375-6; St. Martin, i. 329.

received from them consecration as bishop of Edessa, with a commission of general superintendence over the interests of their cause throughout the east.[t] In the dress of a beggar, from which he derived the name of Al Baradai (the ragged), he travelled indefatigably over Syria and Mesopotamia—secretly reviving the zeal of the monophysites, organizing them into a combined body, and ordaining bishops and clergy for them.[u] At his death, in 578, he left a large and flourishing communion, under a head who laid claim to the patriarchal throne of Antioch; and, although much diminished in importance, the sect still continues to exist. From Jacob al Baradai the monophysites of other countries, as well as of those in which he had laboured, derived the name of Jacobites.[x]

On the death of Timothy, patriarch of Alexandria, in 537, a furious contest for the see arose between the monophysite parties of corruptibilists and incorruptibilists. The government of Justinian supported the corruptibilist Theodosius, but, after having given him the victory over his rival, Gaian, set him aside in favour of an orthodox monk named Paul.[y] Although, however, the catholic patriarch obtained possession of the establishment, the monks in general and the mass of the people were monophysites; and from Egypt the heresy was communicated to the daughter church of Abyssinia. The catholics of Egypt were styled by their opponents Melchites (or imperialists);[z] and an excited feeling of nationality was enlisted against the council of Chalcedon. In the course

[t] The date is variously given—541, 545, 551. See Mosh. ii. 56, n.; Walch, viii. 481-91; Schröckh, xviii. 632; Neand. iv. 272; Giesel. I. ii. 376.

[u] John of Ephesus describes Jacob as a simple man, who was used by others as a tool (273). For his death, see p. 291.

[x] Schröckh, xviii. 632-3; Gibbon, iv. 382-3.

[y] Liberat. 20-3.

[z] Gibbon says that this name was unknown till the tenth century (iv. 372); Pagi, that it is as old as the reign of Marcian. xi 190.

of the Alexandrian contests a great part of the city was burnt down, and they were attended by enormous bloodshed. It is said that at the installation of Apollinarius as patriarch, in 551, two hundred thousand persons were slain in one day;—a statement which, although doubtless exaggerated, must have had some frightful truth for its foundation.[a] By these internal discords among the Christian parties of Egypt, the way was paved for the Saracen conquests of the following century.

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## CHAPTER VII.

### SEMIPELAGIANISM.—MISSIONS.—DECLINE OF ARIANISM IN THE WEST.

I. It has been mentioned that the Semipelagian opinions became popular in Gaul, and that Augustine was induced by Prosper of Aquitaine and Hilary to write against them.[a] The controversy was kept up with great zeal and activity by Prosper himself, who attacked the "Massilians" not only in treatises of the usual form, but in a poem of a thousand lines[b] and in epigrams. In the year after Augustine's death, Prosper and Hilary went to Rome for the purpose of soliciting Celestine to issue a condemnation of Semipelagianism; and, in consequence of this application, the bishop wrote a letter to his Gaulish brethren, in which, while he highly eulogized Augustine, he censured such persons as pursued unprofitable inquiries and introduced novelties of doctrine.[c] These expressions, however, were capable of

A.D. 431.

[a] Gibbon, iv. 388.

[a] Page 167.

[b] 'Carmen de Ingratis.' Prosper's works are in vol. li. of the 'Patrologia.'

[c] Ep. 21 (Patrol. t. l.).

more than one application, and the Semipelagians did not fail to turn them against the advocates of the Augustinian system.[d] The abbey of Lérins, founded in the beginning of the fifth century by Honoratus, afterwards archbishop of Arles,[e] was a chief stronghold of Semipelagianism. Vincent, a celebrated monk of that society, was perhaps the author of a direct attack on the doctrines of Augustine;[f] it has even been supposed that his 'Commonitory,' which came to be regarded as the very rule of orthodoxy, was written with a covert intention of proscribing them by its well-known tests of truth—antiquity, universality, and consent.[g] A.D. 434.

Having failed to effect the suppression of Semipelagianism by authority,[h] Prosper continued to combat it vigorously with his pen. Both he and those who followed him on the same side[i] were careful to mitigate such parts

[d] *E.g.* Vinc. Lirin. Common. 32-3 (Patrol. l.); Tillem. xvi. 16; Walch, v. 73-5, 87; Wiggers, ii. 208; Neand. iv. 386.

[e] Acta SS., Jan. 16; Hist. Litt. ii. 37.

[f] The 'Objectiones Vincentianæ,' which were answered by Prosper. See Dupin, iv. 172; Schröckh, xviii. 20.

[g] Thus in c. 26, with a reference to our Lord's Temptation, he speaks of some who say that in their communion "magna et specialis ac plane personalis quædam sit Dei gratia, adeo ut sine ullo labore, sine ullo studio, sine ulla industria, etiamsi nec petant, nec quærant, nec pulsent, quicunque illi ad numerum suum pertinent, tamen ita divinitus dispensetur ut angelicis evecti manibus, id est angelica protectione servati, nunquam possint offendere ad lapidem pedem suum, id est, nunquam scandalizari." See c. 32; Nat. Alex. x. 116-19; Dupin, iv. 172; Walch, v. 80-1, 147-9; Schröckh, xviii. 38; Neand. iv. 387; Wiggers, ii. 213; H. Schmidt, in Herzog, xvii. 212-14. Baronius vehemently contends (431. 188) that the author of the 'Commonitorium' was not the same with the Semipelagian Vincent, (cf. Acta SS., Mai. 24, p. 257), but Pagi (in Bar. vii. 472-3) owns the contrary, and salves the memory of Vincent by supposing that he, like Cassian (see below, p. 315), died religiously. Tillemont (xv. 144, 861-2) and the authors of the 'Hist. Litt.' (ii 415) will not give a decided opinion, but clearly believe the identity. See n in Fleury, iii. 170.

[h] In the book, 'Contra Collatorem,' *i.e.* against Cassian and his 'Conferences' (xxi. 4), he attempts to stir up Celestine's successor, Sixtus III.

[i] Among them is remarkable the author of the book, 'De Vocatione Gentium,' printed with Prosper's works, and also in the Appendix to Ambrose (Patrol. xvii.), and ascribed to Leo the Great by Quesne (Ib. lv. 399, seqq.). See Wiggers ii. 218-22; Neand. iv. 39.

of the Augustinian system as might seem to be subversive of the obligation to religious living, or inconsistent with the ideas of the divine love and justice.[k] Some of these points Prosper attempted to exempt from discussion by referring them to the "secret things of God."[l] God (he said) "has chosen the whole world out of the whole world, and all men are adopted to be His children out of all mankind."[m] Every one who is rightly baptized receives forgiveness both of original and of actual sin; if such persons afterwards fall away to unbelief or ungodliness, they are condemned, not for their original sin, but for their own misdeeds—not through an irrespective reprobation, but because God foresaw that they would abuse their free-will.[n] Predestination relates to such things only as are of God, and sin is not among these; we must not therefore say that He predestines to sin, but only that He predestines to punishment.[o]

Semipelagianism still continued to prevail in Gaul. One of its most eminent champions was Faustus, a native either of Britain or of Brittany,[p] who at the date of Vincent's 'Commonitory' was abbot of Lérins, and in 456[q] was raised to the bishoprick of Riez. He was famous for strictness of life, and for a power of eloquence which his contemporary Sidonius Apollinaris, bishop of Clermont, extols in hyperbolical terms.[r] After having vainly endeavoured to convince a presbyter named Lucidus, who held extreme predestinarian opinions,[s] Faustus, about

[k] Dupin, iv. 188.

[l] Resp. ad Capitula Gallorum, i. 8.

[m] Ib. ii. 8.

[n] Ib. i. 2.

[o] Ib. i. 14; Walch, v. 183; Schröckh, xviii. 132-6; Neand. iv. 390-1; Giesel. I. ii. 378-9.

[p] Avit. Ep. 4 (Patrol. lix. 219). Dupin (iv. 242) and Ampère (ii. 30) incline to follow Ussher (v. 505, ed. Elrington) in making him a Briton and the 'Histoire Littéraire' speaks decidedly to the same effect (ii. 585). His works are in the 'Patrologia,' vol. lviii. On his doctrines, see Wiggers, ii. cc. 12-13.

[q] Or 462.

[r] Ep. ix. 3, 9 (Patrol. t. lviii.); Tillem. xvi. 409, 414-16.

[s] In the time of the Jansenistic controversy, it was disputed whether a distinct sect of 'predestinarians' existed in ancient times. (See Jansen

the year 475, brought him before a synod held at Arles, where Lucidus was obliged to retract many of his doctrines, and to acknowledge that both grace and human exertion are requisite for obedience to the Divine will.[t] The synod commissioned Faustus to write a confutation of the errors of Lucidus and his party; and another synod, held at Lyons, requested him to make some additions to the work,[u] which thus had an appearance of sanction from the church of Gaul.[x] It opens with a refutation of the grosser tenets of Pelagianism, and then attacks the Augustinian system, which the writer charges with Antinomianism. Faustus, who had been banished by the Arian Euric, in 481, but recovered his see on that prince's death, three years later, died about 491-3, at a very advanced age. His memory was celebrated in his own country as that of a saint;[y] but Avitus, bishop of Vienne,[z] Cæsarius, bishop of Arles,[a]

against and Sirmond for its existence, in Patrol. liii. 673; Nat. Alex. ix. Dissert. 5; Tillem. xvi. 19; Dupin, iv. 245-8; Walch, v. 103.) It seems to be now agreed that there was no such sect, although the Augustinian views were no doubt often carried out to extravagance. (Walch, v. 280-4.) The 'Predestinatus,' a Semipelagian treatise of the time, professes to give in its second book the system of an ultra-Augustinian party, which is answered at much greater length in the third book. (Patrol. liii.) Neander (iv. 397-8) strongly argues that this second book is the genuine work of an ultra-Augustinian, not an embodiment of the opinions of such persons by the writer who has inserted it in his work, as is supposed by Wiggers (ii. 340, 348), Bähr (ii. 375), and Weizsäcker (in Herzog, viii. 507). The form of the book, and the apparent good faith with which the predestinarian doctrines are laid down, seem to recommend Neander's view.

[t] Ep. ad Lucid. (Patrol. liii. 681); Libellus Lucidi, ib. 683. The acts of the council are lost.

[u] 'De Gratia Dei et Lib. Arbitrio.' Gennadius (himself a Semipelagian) celebrates this work highly. De Script. Eccles. 85.

[x] Tillemont (xvi. 424-5) is very anxious to lessen the amount of this sanction, while others have unreasonably denied the story altogether. See Patrol. lviii. 782.

[y] In the 'Patrologia' and in the Acta SS. (Jan. 16, p. 393) he is styled *Saint*. See the extract from Baronius, Patrol. viii. 778; Tillem. xv. 434-5; Giesel. I. ii. 381. The authors of the 'Histoire Littéraire' remark that, as the Semipelagian doctrines were not formally condemned before the second council of Orange, it was not until then heretical to hold them. ii. 23; Tillem. xvi. 438; Schröckh, xviii. 145.

[z] Ep. iv. (Patrol. lix.); Ado, ib. cxxiii. 107.

[a] Gennad. 86. It seems, however,

and Claudianus Mamertus, a presbyter of that city, wrote against his opinions;[b] and soon after his death his writings were condemned by Pope Gelasius in a decretal epistle, which is memorable as containing the earliest Roman catalogue of forbidden books.[c] The treatise of Faustus 'On Grace and Free-will,' after a time found its way to Constantinople, where it excited much commotion among the brotherhood of Scythian monks.

A.D. 520-3. These were already in correspondence with the west on a question which had arisen—"whether One of the Trinity suffered?"[d] They applied to Hormisdas, bishop of Rome, for a condemnation of Faustus; and as his decree[e] was not strong enough to satisfy their zeal, their envoys at Rome referred the matter to the orthodox bishops of Africa who had been banished into Sardinia by the tyranny of the Vandals.[f] The most distinguished of these bishops, Fulgentius of Ruspe,[g] took up the question after his recall from exile by Hilderic, and set forth the Augustinian doctrines in a mitigated form, carefully guarding against the possible abuses of them;[h] in some respects, however (as with regard to the fate of unbaptized children—even of such as die in the womb), he ventured to a degree of rigour beyond his master.[i]

probable that the "testimonia" of Cæsarius, there mentioned, were nothing else than the determinations of the council of Orange (see next page). Hist. Litt. iii. 225; Gallandi, in Patrol. lxvii. 998.

[b] Hist. Litt. ii. 344, 597; Walch, v. 112; Schröckh, xviii. 153.

[c] Patrol. lix. 164. On the question whether the condemnation was specially aimed against the Semipelagianism of Faustus, or against some strange opinions which he held on the materiality of the soul and on other subjects, see Walch, v. 112.

[d] Patrol. lxiii. 471, seqq.; Baron. 519. 99, seqq. See Petav. de Incarn. v. 2-3.

[e] Ep. 70 (Patrol. lxiii.); cf. Joh. Maxent. in Patrol. Gr. lxxxvi. 93, seqq.

[f] See p. 267. The documents relating to the Scythian monks are in the appendix to Augustine, Patrol. xlv. 1771, seqq. See Wiggers, ii. 403, seqq.

[g] See p. 270.

[h] His works are in Patrol. lxv. See Pagi, ix. 333; Walch, v. 117-32; Wiggers, ii. 376-93; Neand. iv. 406; Giesel. I. ii. 380-1.

[i] De Fide ad Petrum, 61; Ep. xvii. 58-9; Wiggers, ii. 376-8

Cæsarius, who held the see of Arles from 501 to 542, and was revered for the wisdom and charity which he displayed in the trying circumstances of his age and country,[k] procured a condemnation of the Semipelagian tenets by the Gaulish bishops in a synod held at Orange in 529.[l] In this judgment all that might startle or shock in the predestinarian doctrine was carefully avoided. The opinion of a predestination to sin and condemnation was rejected with abhorrence, and with the expression of a doubt whether it were really entertained by any one; while it was laid down that sufficient grace is bestowed on all the baptized—a doctrine incompatible with the notions of irresistible grace and absolute decrees.[m] The decisions of Orange were soon after affirmed by another council at Valence,[n] and in the year A.D. 530. following they were ratified by Pope Boniface II.[o] Thus, in so far as formal condemnation could reach, Semipelagianism was suppressed in the west. But the 'Conferences' of its founder maintained their popularity, especially in the monasteries, and the opinions of Cassian were often really held where those of Augustine were professed.[p]

[k] See the life of him, Patrol. lxvii. 1000, seqq.; Schröckh, xvii. 408, seqq.; Neander, 'Memorials,' 347-75; Guizot, 'Civilis. in France,' Lect. xvi.; Ampère, ii. 28-31.

[l] Conc. Arausiac. II. (Patrol. lxvii. 1144, seqq.).

[m] Ib. 1150; Wiggers, ii. 431, 441.

[n] Vita Cæsarii, i. 46. The acts are lost. Bp. Hefele thinks that this synod was earlier than that of Orange. ii. 717-18.

[o] Ep. ad Cæsar., Patrol. xlv. 1790, or lxv. 31.

[p] Tillem. xiv. 181; Walch, v. 44, 155-6; Giesel. I. ii. 128, 379. The reading of the 'Conferences' is prescribed in c. 42 of the Benedictine rule. See the next chapter. Pagi (vii. 459; comp. ix. 402) states that Cassian, as his opinions had not been condemned during his lifetime, died with the reputation of sanctity; that Gregory the Great styles him *Saint* (Ep. vii. 12); and that his memory continued to be honoured at Marseilles (comp. Wiggers, ii. 18-8.) The Bollandists also maintain his sanctity. (Jul. 23, p. 458.) The controversy was, on the whole, carried on with unusual moderation. As the Semipelagians abstained from attacking St. Augustine by name, so their own names were spared by the council which condemned their opinions.

II. The reigns of Justin the elder and Justinian witnessed the conversion of the Lazi, in Colchis, who thereupon forsook the Persian for the Roman alliance ;[q] of the Abasgi, near Mount Caucasus ;[r] and of the fierce nation of the Heruli, who had been allowed to cross the Danube in the time of Anastasius.[s] The wild tribes about the river Don were also visited by missionaries.[t] A powerful impression was made on the nomads of the east by Symeon the stylite and other ascetics whom they met with in the course of their wandering life; one Saracen chief was not only converted, but, having exchanged in baptism the name of Aspebethos for that of Peter, was consecrated to exercise a superintendence over his own and other tribes, under the title of "Bishop of the Camps," and sat in the general council of Ephesus.[u]

In some quarters the catholics contended with the new sects in missionary exertion; but in the remoter regions the heretics were the more active. The monophysites, in addition to their gains in countries where orthodox Christianity had already been planted, converted Nubia from heathenism ;[x] while the preachers of Nestorianism found out new fields for their labour in the east. In the sixth century the Nestorian school of Nisibis was the only regular institution for the training of clergy. The sectaries who had been driven from the empire strengthened the kingdom of Persia by their immigration; their religious hostility to the Christianity of the emperors secured for them the countenance of the Persian monarchs; and Nestorianism was established as the only form of Christianity to be tolerated in Persia — thousands of catholics and monophysites being slain for

[q] Evagr. iv. 22 ; Giesel. I. ii. 436.
[r] Procop. de Bello Goth. iv. 3.
[s] Ib. ii. 14, p. 421 ; Evagr. iv. 30.
[t] Ib. 33.
[u] Ib. vi. 22 ; Conc. Ephes. ap. Hard. i. 1393, 1428.
[x] Giesel. I. ii. 439. See Joh. Ephes. 250, 315, seqq.

refusing to conform to it.[y] Persian missionaries penetrated into the heart of Asia,[z] and even into China, from which country two of them, in the reign of Justinian, introduced the silkworm into the Greek empire.[a] Cosmas, a Nestorian of Egypt—originally a merchant and afterwards a monk, who from his expeditions into the east is known by the name of Indicopleustes (the Indian voyager),—found Christians of his own communion, with bishops and clergy from Persia, in Ceylon, in Malabar, and elsewhere on the Indian coasts. As to Ceylon, however, he expressly states that the natives and their kings were still heathens; and on the whole it would seem that the Christianity of those regions extended as yet but little beyond the pale of the Persian commercial settlements.[b]

There were religious wars between the Abyssinians and the Homerites or Hamyarites, a people of southern Arabia, who professed the Jewish faith; but the accounts of these wars are much embarrassed by inconsistencies and other difficulties.[c]

III. In the west, the conquests of the Franks extended Christianity wherever they penetrated, and revived that which had been before planted in some districts—as, for example, along the course of the Rhine.[d]

[y] Gibbon, iv. 374-6; Schröckh, xvi. 297; Neand. iii. 260; Giesel. I. ii. 153-4, 437. John of Ephesus, however, states that Chosroes held a conference between the Nestorians and the monophysites, and was so much impressed by the reasoning of the monophysites that he allowed them full liberty as to religion, whereupon they set up a catholicus (or patriarch) of their own, A.D. 599 (pp. 418-21).

[z] Cosm. Indicopl. 'Topographia Christiana' (in Montfaucon's 'Collectio Nova Patrum,' t. ii. Paris, 1707), l. iii. p. 179.

[a] Procop. de B. Gothico, iv. 17.

[b] Cosm. Indicopl. l. iii. p. 178; l. xi. p. 337. Cosmas travelled about 522, and published his work about 547. Montf. ii. 110-11. See Gibbon, iii. 376, 508; Hough's Christianity in India, i. 73.

[c] Proc. de B. Pers. i. 20. See Baron. 522, 523, and Pagi's notes; Schröckh, xvi. 293-6; xviii. 550; Giesel. I. ii. 438-9; Neand. iii. 170-1.

[d] Schröckh, xvi. 258-60.

The religion of the western converts was too generally tainted both by their own barbarism and by the corruption of the worn-out nations with whose civilization they were brought into contact.[e] Much of heathen superstition lingered in combination with Christianity; Gregory of Tours reports it as a popular saying in Spain, that "it is no harm if one who has to pass between heathen altars and God's church should pay his respects to both."[f] Much vice was tolerated by the clergy, who, although their condition was highly prosperous, did not as yet feel themselves strong enough to check the passions of the great and powerful.[g] The fate of Prætextatus, bishop of Rouen, who, in consequence of having offended the notorious Queen Fredegund, was stabbed in his cathedral at high mass on Easter-day,[h] A.D. 586. was a warning to such of his brethren as might be inclined to take a bolder line. The depravity of the Frankish princes, in particular, was frightful—perhaps even unparalleled in the records of history;[i] and the tone which the bishop of Tours, although himself a good and pious man, employs in speaking of such characters, affords abundant proof that his own ideas were far from any high Christian standard.[k] The evangelical principle of forgiveness for sin was abused to sanction licentiousness and atrocity.[l] Fredegund, in instigating A.D. 575. two of her servants to assassinate Sigebert,

[e] Giesel. I. ii. 449-50; Ozanam, Civ. Chrét. au 5me Siècle, ii. 73.

[f] v. 44. Procopius says that the Franks, although they professed Christianity, practised human sacrifice and heathen rites of divination. De B. Goth. ii. 25.

[g] Sismondi, Hist. des Français, i. 308.

[h] Greg. Tur. viii. 31, 41; Acta SS., Feb. 24; Thierry, 'Récits,' ii. 221, ed. Brux.; Pagi, x. 460. The chronicler of St. Denys says that the queen proceeded "selonc la coustume de fame, qui moult plus est de grant engieng à malfaire que n'est homs." iii. 4. (Bouquet, iii. 214.)

[i] Hallam, 'Middle Ages,' i. 4, and Suppl. Notes, § 22; Löbell, 21-33, 99.

[k] See Giesel. I. ii. 452-3; Ampère, ii. 300-4. Gregory was born in 539, and held the see of Tours from 573 to 595.

[l] Giesel. I. ii. 450.

assured them that, if they lived, she would highly honour them, but if they perished in their attempt, she would give largely in alms for their souls;[m] murderers were allowed to take sanctuary in churches, and might not be dragged out without an oath for the safety of their lives.[n] Pretended miracles were wrought in vast numbers for the purpose of imposing on the credulous.[o] Among the clergy themselves, from the bishops downwards, there was much of vice and even of crime;[p] Fredegund, in one of her many murders, found two ecclesiastics to act for hire as the assassins.[q] There was a natural tendency to rely on mere rites and outward pomp of worship; yet good men, such as Cæsarius of Arles, were never wanting to assert the necessity of a really living faith and a thoroughly religious practice;[r] and throughout all the evils of the time the beneficial effects of the gospel are to be traced in humane and civilizing legislation.[s]

IV. During the reign of Justinian's successor, Justin II., Alboin, king of the Lombards,[t] descended on Italy with a host of adventurers collected from many nations and professing a variety of religions—heathenism, Arianism, and orthodox Christianity.[u] The exarch Narses, who had been affronted by the emperor and superseded in his government, is supposed to have shared in inviting the Lombards,[x] and, although he returned to his allegiance, death soon removed him from the path of the invaders.[y] Justin was obliged to yield to them the north of Italy and a part of the centre; Pavia

A.D. 563.

[m] Gesta Regum Francorum, 32 (Patrol. xcvi.).
[n] Schröckh, xvi. 255.
[o] Giesel. I. ii. 451-2.
[p] Ampère, ii. 286; Perry, 484-5.
[q] Greg. Tur. viii. 29.
[r] Neand. Mem. 345, seqq.
[s] Schröckh, xvi. 255-8.
[t] The proper name of the nation was Winili; but from the length of their beards they were called Langobards (Lombards). Paul. Warnefr., Hist. Langob. i. 9 (Patrol. xcv.).
[u] Gibbon, iv. 246-9.
[x] P. Warnef. ii. 9. Mr. Finlay disbelieves the charge. i. 353.
[y] P. Warnef. i. 11.

became the Lombard capital; and about twenty years later the duchy of Beneventum was added to their territories.[z] Arianism, which had been extirpated from Italy by the arms of Belisarius and Narses, was again introduced by the new conquerors; and it was among them that it remained latest as a national faith.[a]

In Gaul, Arianism had given way to the progress of the Frankish power, which everywhere enforced orthodoxy by the sword. Clovis, as we have seen, made a zeal against heresy the pretext for his invasion of the Visigothic kingdom;[b] and we are told that, when the walls of Angoulême had fallen down before him by miracle, he butchered the Gothic inhabitants for their misbelief.[c] Sigismund, king of the Burgundians, who had become a convert to the catholic doctrine before his accession in 517, endeavoured, under the prudent guidance of Avitus, bishop of Vienne, to draw his subjects over after him; but among the Burgundians, as elsewhere, it was by the victory of the Franks that Arianism was suppressed.[d] When the Gothic garrisons were withdrawn from the north of the Alps to encounter Belisarius in Italy, the Goths ceded Provence to the Franks; the cession was afterwards confirmed by Justinian, and thus the heresy was expelled from that region.[e]

A.D. 534.

In Spain, the Suevi, under Theodomir, returned to the catholic faith about a century from the time when their forefathers abandoned it.[f]

A.D. 559-569.

Amalaric, grandson of the great Theodoric, who had succeeded to the Visigothic dominions in Spain, and in

[z] P. Warnef. iii. 31; Sismondi, Rép. Ital. i. 144. Autharit, the third Lombard king of Italy, introduced the system of dukedoms, which were held under the sovereign, and might be forfeited by misconduct, but otherwise were hereditary. Giannone, l. iv. cc. 2-3.

[a] Gibbon, iv. 259-61; Schröckh, xviii. 129-30; Giesel. I. ii. 441.

[b] P. 262.

[c] Hincmar, Vita Remigii, 52 (Patrol cxxv.); Revillout, 168.

[d] Acta SS., Feb. 5, pp. 670-1; Neand. v. 6; Revill. 199-217.

[e] Procop. de B. Goth. iii. 33.

[f] Isid. Hispal. de Regibus Goth. 90 (Patrol. lxxxiii. 1082); Mariana, i. 272

Gaul westward of the Rhone,[g] married Clotilda, a daughter of Clovis, and endeavoured, by very violent means, to convert her to Arianism.[h] Her brother Childebert, roused to indignation by receiving from her a handkerchief stained with her blood, as a proof of the treatment to which she was subjected by her husband, made war on Amalaric, defeated, and killed him. Under the next king of the Visigoths, A.D. 531. Theudis, the catholics enjoyed a free toleration, with the liberty of holding synods; and the same policy was followed by his successors, until the latter part of Leovigild's reign.[i] On the marriage of Hermenegild, son of this prince, with a daughter of Sigebert, king of the Austrasian Franks, the Gothic queen, Goswintha, who was grandmother to the young princess[k] as well as step-mother to her husband, exercised great cruelty towards her in the attempt to seduce her from the orthodox faith. Hermenegild was banished from the court, and was soon after induced, by the persuasions of his wife, and of Leander, bishop of Seville, to become a catholic—a step which offended Leovigild, not only on religious grounds, but because there was room for apprehending political danger from the connexion into which the prince was thus brought with the catholic portion of his father's subjects. Hermenegild was consequently deprived of his share in the government. Supported by foreign princes of his new communion, he rebelled against his father; but the rebellion was suppressed, and A.D. 577-585. Hermenegild, as he firmly refused to return to Arianism, and gave Leovigild reason to apprehend

[g] Greg. Tur. iii. 10.

[h] M. Henri Martin remarks that the Gothic princesses who were married to catholics readily gave up their Arianism; whereas the Frank princesses who married Arians earnestly adhered to the catholic faith. ii. 63, ed. 1850.

[i] Schröckh, xviii. 76; Revill. 177.

[k] By her former marriage, with Athanagild, Goswintha was mother of Sigebert's queen, the famous Bruni child.

a renewal of his insurrection, was put to death.[l] Leovigild had been provoked by his son's conduct to exercise severities against the catholics. One of their bishops had apostatized, and had submitted to rebaptism; but the king, wishing to facilitate conversion to his heresy, had prevailed on an Arian council to acknowledge the baptism of the church.[m] After the death of Hermenegild, he subdued the Suevi and united their kingdom to his own; and both in the old and in the new portions of his dominions the catholics were under persecution until his death in 586.[n] His son Recared, who then succeeded to the throne, avowed himself a catholic—the persuasives to his change of belief being, as in many other cases of this age, partly of a miraculous kind. Conspiracies were set on foot against him by the widowed queen Goswintha, and others of the Arian party; but he succeeded in suppressing them, and a synod of seventy bishops, held at Toledo in 589, established the catholic faith among his people.[o] Thus, at the end of the period embraced in this book, the Lombards were the only nation who continued to adhere to Arianism.

V. While the British church was pent up in the mountains, and Saxon heathenism overspread the rest of the land, the church of Ireland was in a very flourishing condition.[p] Columba,[q] an Irish abbot of royal de-

[l] Maximus Cæsaraug., Patrol. lxxx. 628-9; Greg. Tur. v. 39; vi. 43; Greg. Magn. Dial. iii. 31 (Patrol. lxxvii.); Mariana, i. 280-6; Gibbon, iii. 374-6; Revill. 235-9, 245.

[m] Isid. Hisp. de Regg. Goth. 50.

[n] Mariana, i. 286-90; Pagi, x. 405; Revillout, 244. Maximus of Saragossa says that Leovigild on his death-bed repented, and embraced the catholic faith. Patrol. lxxx. 629.

[o] Hard. iii. 472; Baron. 589. 9-45; Gibbon, iii. 376-7; Lembke, i. 78-87; Revill. 250-4.

[p] Giesel. I. ii. 457-8; Neand. v. 12.

[q] The Life of Columba, written about sixty years after his death, by Cummin, abbot of Hy, is printed by Mabillon (Acta SS. O. S. Ben. i. 361-6). About a quarter of a century later this was extended by Adamnan, ninth abbot of Hy, whose work may be found in Canisius, and in vol. lxxxviii. of the 'Patrologia.' But the best text is that edited by the Rev. Dr. Reeves for the Irish Archæological Society (Dublin, 1857); and the editor has illustrated with a profusion of learning both his imme-

scent,[r] after having founded monasteries in the north of Ireland,[s] set forth with twelve companions[t] in the year 563,[u]—in obedience (it is said) to the command of a hermit, who had charged him to expiate by a life of exile and of missionary labour the part which he had taken in the sanguinary feuds of his countrymen.[x] It has been supposed that he was invited into Scotland by Conall, king of the Dalriads, who was his kinsman;[y] and in addition to gaining an influence over that prince and his successor Aidan, whose title he confirmed by a solemn coronation,[z] he converted Brud, king of the northern Picts, whom he visited at his castle near Inverness.[a] For thirty-four years Columba laboured indefatigably, both on the mainland and in the Hebrides,[b] occasionally revisiting his native land, which he had never ceased to regard with passionate regret.[c] His chief residence was

diate subject and the general history of the early Irish and Scottish churches. Both Cummin and Adamnan were unfortunately less anxious to give historical information than to set forth the miracles, prophecies, and visions by which the memory of their hero was distinguished. Both lives are given in the Bollandist collection, June 9. Although Adamnan quotes Cummin (iii. 5), Sir T. D. Hardy thinks that the life ascribed to Cummin is, in its present state, an abridgment of Adamnan. Catal. of Materials for British History, i. 167. (Chron. and Mem. of G. B.).

[r] Adamn. Præf. p. 8; King, i. 75; Montalembert, iii. 104-8.

[s] See Reeves, lxxiii. 162, 276.

[t] Cumm. 4; Adamn. iii. 4. For the recurrence of the number twelve in such cases, see Reeves, 299, seqq.

[u] Lanigan, ii. 158; Reeves, lxxv. 9. Bede places the date two years later. iii. 4.

[x] See Reeves, lxxiv. 247, seqq.; Montalemb. iii. 139.

[y] See Reeves, lxxv.; Montalemb. iii. 173.

[z] See Montalemb. iii. 195.

[a] Adamn. ii. 33, 35; Beda, iii. 4. M. de Montalembert points out (iii. 181) that Brud's conversion is not mentioned; but it seems to be implied in Bede's language as to the conversion of his people.

[b] Lanigan, ii. 161, seqq. For the traces of his foundations, see Reeves, 136, 289. To those before known, it appears, on the evidence of an ancient book lately discovered by Mr. Bradshaw in the University Library at Cambridge, and admirably edited for the Spalding Club by Dr. John Stuart (Edinb. 1869), that the abbey of Deer, in Aberdeenshire (afterwards transferred to Cistercians), is to be added. The name of Déar (*i.e.* tear) is fancifully said in the MS. to have been given by Columba, on account of the tears which his companion Drostan, on whom he bestowed the place, shed at parting from him. See the Preface, p. xlviii. As to Deer, see Montalemb. iii. 190-1.

[c] Ib. 153, seqq., 198, 219.

in the island of Hy (afterwards called from him Icolumbkille[d] or Iona),[e] where he established a monastery which was long famous as a seat of religion and learning, and became the nursery of clergy whose labours extended not only over Scotland, but far into the southern division of Britain, and northwards to the Orkneys and the islands beyond—perhaps even to Iceland.[f] The abbots of Hy were at the head of a great society which had its monasteries both in Scotland and in Ireland;[g] and out of respect for the memory of the founder, who had himself been only a presbyter,[h] even the bishops of the district, by what Bede terms an "unusual arrangement,"[i] were in

[d] The name of Columbkille (*i.e.* Columba of the church), given to him in early life from the diligence with which he frequented the services of the church (Reeves, lxx.), came into general use between his own time and that of Bede. Beda, v. 9; Lanigan, ii. 115.

[e] The word in the best MSS., not only of Adamnan, but of other early writers, is *Ioua*, which Adamnan uses as an adjective, agreeing with *insula*, the root of it being *Iou*. From a misreading of this, and from a fanciful connexion with the Hebrew equivalent of the saint's name (as to which Adamnan remarks, that it was the same with the Hebrew *iona*, with the Greek περιστερά, and with the name of the prophet Jonah—Præf. 2, p. 4), *Ioua* was changed into the better-known form *Iona*. (Reeves, 258-62). For other derivations which have been proposed, see Lanigan, ii. 153; Reeves, 123.

[f] Cosmo Innes, 'Scotland in the Middle Ages,' 101. See Book V. c. viii. sect. xiii.

[g] The system is very carefully collected from Adamnan and other authorities by Dr. Reeves, 339, seqq.; see also T. Innes' 'Civil and Eccl. Hist. of Scotland' (where there is a very full account of Columba), b. ii. cc. 26, seqq.; Grub, c. xi.

[h] See a strange legend as to the reason why he never became a bishop, in Dr. Todd's 'St. Patrick,' 71.

[i] "Ordine inusitato" (Bed. iii. 4). From this presbyterian writers have eagerly inferred that the early Scottish church differed in its polity from the rest of the Christian world; and they have sought to convert Iona into a precedent for their own system. (See, *e.g.*, Cunningham, i. 71-5.) For a refutation of their arguments, see Lloyd's 'Historical Account of Church Government' (in Pantin's ed. of Stillingfleet); T. Innes, b. ii. 33-8, and p. 234; Collier, i. 142-3; Skinner, i. 97, seqq.; Lanigan, i. 254-6, iv. 295, seqq.; Lingard, A. S. C. i. 154; Russell, i. 15-44; Grub, c. x.; Stuart, Pref. to 'The Book of Deer,' cii. seqq.; Todd's 'St. Patrick,' 5, seqq. It appears evident, without the necessity of argument, that, if the bishops existed at all—which is a part of Bede's statement—the "unusual arrangement" by which they were subjected to the abbots of Hy, must have related, not to the strictly spiritual part of their functions, but to some matters of jurisdiction and regulation which did not touch the essence of the episcopate. Columba's own reverence

some respects subject to them. Columba died at the age of seventy-six, in 597,[k] the same year in which the Roman mission for the conversion of the English landed in the Isle of Thanet.

The British churches, in consequence of their remoteness and of the want of communication with Rome, retained some peculiarities which afterwards became subjects of controversy.[l] Among these was the time of observing Easter; but although, like the quartodecimans of Asia, the Britons professed to derive their practice from St. John, they were not quartodecimans, inasmuch as they always celebrated the festival on a Sunday.[m] British bishops had sat (as we have seen)[n] in the council of Arles, and had doubtless concurred in its approval of the Roman rule as to Easter.[o] Constantine, in his letter written after

for the episcopal order appears very strongly from an anecdote in Adamnan, i. 44. See Dr. Reeves' note there; also pp. 69, 340-1.

[k] Reeves, lxxviii. 309, seqq. Adamnan's account of the death is touching, and one incident may be here quoted from it. The abbot goes forth with a disciple to survey for the last time the precincts of his monastery; and having visited the barn, sits down.—"Dumque ibidem Sanctus, senio fessus, paululum sedens requiesceret, ecce albus occurrit caballus, obediens servitor, qui scilicet lactaria bocetum [*i.e.* bovile] inter et monasterium vascula gestare consueverat. Hic ad Sanctum accedens, mirum dictu, caput in sinu ejus ponit, ut credo inspirante Deo, cui omne animal rerum sapit sensu quo jusserit ipse Creator, dominum a se suum mox emigraturum, et ipsum ultra non visurum sciens, cœpit plangere, ubertimque, quasi homo, lacrymas in gremium Sancti fundere, et valde spumans flere. Quod videns minister, cœpit illum flebilem repellere lamentatorem; sed Sanctus prohibuit eum, dicens, 'Sine hunc, sine nostri amatorem, ut in hunc meum sinum fletus effundat amarissimi plangoris. Ecce tu, homo cum sis, et rationalem animam habeas, nullo modo scire de meo exitu potuisti, nisi quod tibi ego ipse nuper manifestavi; huic vero bruto et irrationabili animanti, quoquo modo ipse Conditor voluit, egressurum a se dominum manifeste revelavit.' Et hæc dicens mœstum a se revertentem equum benedixit ministratorem." iii. 23, pp. 231-2.

[l] Giesel. I. ii. 458-9.

[m] Beda, iii. 4; Acta SS., Jun. 9, p. 189; Nat. Alex. v. Dissert. 5, art. 8; iii. 17; Johnson's Canons, i. 90; Goodall in Keith's Catal. of Scottish Bishops, xlix.-lii. ed. Russell, Edinb. 1824; Smith in Bed., Patrol. xcv. 318, 324-6; Lingard, A. S. C. i. 51; Russell, i. 48-50, and n. on Spottiswoode, i. 49-50; Reeves' Adamnan, 26; Walter, 'Das alte Wales,' 223-6. It is on a mistaken notion of their having been quartodecimans that the idea of referring the British churches to a directly Eastern origin chiefly rests. Gieseler, I. ii. 460.

[n] P. 250.

[o] Conc. Arelat. A.D. 314, c. 1; Haddan-Stubbs, i. 7.

the Nicene council, had spoken of "the Britains" as agreeing with other countries in the paschal reckoning of Rome;[p] and it is recorded that in the year 453 the British church conformed to an order of Leo the Great on this subject.[q] It would seem, in truth, that the difference which is found at a somewhat later time between the British and the Roman usages arose from an adherence of the British to the earlier cycle of the Roman church itself, which had in the meantime been superseded at Rome by other and more accurate calculations.[r]

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## CHAPTER VIII.

### SUPPLEMENTARY.

### I. *The Patriarchal Sees.—Relations of Church and State.*

During the period between the council of Chalcedon and the end of the sixth century, the influence of Alexandria and of Antioch declined. Such was the natural result of the differences by which those churches were distracted—with the frequent and bloody conflicts of their factions—the forcible expulsions and installations of bishops, who, instead of being shepherds over the whole community, could only be the chiefs of parties—and the variations of doctrine and policy between the successive occupants of the sees.[s] In the meanwhile, Constantinople was advancing in authority and importance. The council of Chal-

[p] Euseb. V. Const. iii. 19.

[q] "Pasca commutatur super diem Dominicum, cum papa Leone, episcopo Romæ." Annales Cambriæ in Mon. Hist. Brit. 830. See Walter, 'Das alte Wales,' 225; De Rossi, I. xvii.

[r] Those of Victorinus of Aquitaine, A.D. 457, and of Dionysius Exiguus, A.D. 525. Giesel. I. ii. 459; Skinner, i. 110-14. See note in Fleury, iii. 326-30; Hoffman, Hist. Cycl. Dionys. in Patrol. lxvii. 468; Haddan-Stubbs, i. 152.

[s] Giesel. I. ii 206.

cedon had conferred on it a right of receiving appeals from bishops or clerks against their metropolitans.[b] By the help of Zeno, the patriarchs of Constantinople finally reduced the exarchate of Ephesus to subjection; and the deprivations of Alexandria and Antioch gave them repeated opportunities of exercising an apparent superiority over those elder churches, by consecrating patriarchs for them, and otherwise interfering in their concerns.[c] The argument for the precedence of Rome, in so far as it was founded on the dignity of the ancient capital—(the only foundation of it which the east had ever acknowledged)—fell with the western empire.[d] It has been supposed that Acacius conceived the idea of raising his see above Rome;[e] and it seems at least probable that Constantinople might have successfully rivalled the power of the great western church, had not its bishops been placed at a disadvantage in consequence of their dependence on the court, and weakened by their quarrels with the emperors.

The bishops of Rome, as before, pursued in the main a steady course. They were still on the orthodox and victorious side in the controversies of the time; and thus their reputation and influence grew. They were invoked and courted by the various parties in the eastern disputes; the emperors themselves found their account in conciliating the bishops of Rome and using them as a check on the patriarchs of Constantinople.[f] The wealth of the Roman see was increased by the acquisition of great estates, not only in Italy, but in other countries; and hence, in addition to gaining the natural influence of riches, the bishops were able, by means of the agents

[b] Can. 9, 17.

[c] Schröckh, xvii. 41-2; Wiltsch, i. 143.

[d] Nilus Doxopatrius, ap. Le Moyne, 'Varia Sacra,' i. 242-3, Lugd. Bat. 1694.

[e] See Hefele, ii. 494-6; Schröckh, xvii. 178, after Baron. 472. 5.

[f] Schröckh, xviii. 477; Planck, i. 652, 669, 670; Giesel. I. ii. 400.

employed in the management of their lands, to keep a watchful eye on the ecclesiastical affairs of distant provinces, and to exercise a frequent interference in them.[g] Even the heresy of the barbarians who overran the west was in its effects favourable to the power of the Roman see, inasmuch as, by everywhere presenting the same enemy, it tended to force the catholics into combination and centralization, and prevented the breaking up of the church into separate nationalities.[h]

In Italy the title of pope was now usually appropriated to the bishop of Rome,[i] although in other countries of the west it continued to be bestowed on bishops in general until the time of Gregory VII. In eastern usage, it was commonly restricted to the bishops of Rome and Alexandria.[k] Titles of more imposing sound, such as that of "ecumenical bishop," were sometimes applied to the bishops of Rome,—chiefly by persons whose interest it was to flatter them; the first instance of this kind was at the council of Chalcedon, where the Alexandrian complainants against Dioscorus, wishing to enlist the Roman legates in their cause, styled Leo "ecumenical archbishop, and patriarch of the great Rome."[l] But such titles — originating among orientals, and in the inflation of oriental language — were not intended to be understood in that exclusive sense which the words might naturally convey to our minds. Thus the style of "ecumenical patriarch" was assumed by the bishops of Constantinople, who yet made no pretensions to dominion over the western church.[m] And it was not

[g] Planck, i. 629-32. See the next chapter.

[h] Revillout, 394.

[i] Ennodius of Pavia, about A.D. 500, appears to have been the first writer who thus restricted the title. See n. in Patrol. lxiii. 69.

[k] Nilus Doxop. ap. Le Moyne, i. 233; Schröckh, xvii. 23-5; Giesel. I. ii. 228, 405. See a curious note in Stanley's Eastern Church, 113.

[l] Labb. iv. 395. It was afterwards pretended that the title was given by the whole council (Greg. M. Epp. v. 18, 20, 44); but Gregory's editors show that this was not the case.

[m] Bingh. II. xvii. 21. The Constantinopolitan use of the title arose from the restricted sense of the word

supposed that there was any incompatibility between the titles, when, at the council under Mennas, which condemned the opinions of Origen,[n] the bishops of Rome and Constantinople were each styled "archbishop and ecumenical patriarch";[o] or when Justinian addressed each of them as "head of all the churches."[p]

The Roman bishops extended their claims of jurisdiction[q] — sometimes resting them on canons and imperial edicts, but more frequently on privileges alleged to be derived from St. Peter—with whom, however, St. Paul, the companion of his martyrdom and apostle of the gentiles, was still joined as having contributed to the foundation of the claim.[r]

In the west, disputes which arose between bishops as to precedence and jurisdiction occasioned a frequent recourse to Rome, and advanced the idea of a supreme judicial authority in that see—the more so, because the contending parties were often subjects of different governments.[s] A like effect followed from the applications which churches became accustomed to make to Rome for advice in cases of difficulty. These applications drew forth decretal epistles by way of answer; the applicants were glad to be assured that the substance of such replies was of apostolical tradition and of universal

οἰκουμένη (Schröckh, xvii. 55, 76). See the next chapter.

[n] See p. 298. [o] Labb. v. 21, 46.

[p] In Cod. I. ii. 24, he says, "Constantinopolitana ecclesia omnium ecclesiarum est caput." See Planck, i. 653-4; Schröckh, xvii. 42.

[q] Pelagius II. is said to have been the first pope who claimed the right of summoning general councils, A.D. 587 (Ep. 6; Planck, i. 681). But the epistle in which he is made to advance this claim belongs to the great forgery of the Decretals. Patrol. lxxii. 738; Jaffé, 936.

[r] Epiphanius speaks of the two apostles as having been bishops of Rome together. (Adv. Hær. I. ii. 6.) "Cui data est etiam societas beati Pauli." (Gelas. Decr. de libris recipiendis, Patrol. lix. 167.) "Saulus, ad Christum conversus, caput effectus est nationum, quia obtinuit totius ecclesiæ principatum." (Greg. M. in Lib. I. Regum, iv. 28, ib. lxxix.) Fulgentius still interprets the promise to St. Peter (Matt. xvi. 18-19) as belonging to the whole church. De Remiss. Pecc. i. 19; ii. 20 (Patrol. lxv.). See Schröckh, xvii. 183-4; Planck, i. 663-5: Giesel. I. ii. 401-2.

[s] Guizot, ii. 48-9.

authority; and the pope came to be regarded as a general dictator in matters of this kind.[t] About the middle of the sixth century, Dionysius Exiguus, a Roman monk of Scythian birth, collected the canons of the general and of the chief provincial councils, translating those which were in Greek, and including with them the decretal epistles of the Roman bishops, from Siricius downwards. The work became a standard of ecclesiastical law in the west; and it contributed largely to heighten the authority of the see whose decisions and advices were thus apparently placed on a level with the decrees of the most venerated councils.[u]

Although, however, the Roman bishops not only became the highest judges of ecclesiastical matters in the west, but also claimed a right of watching over the faith of the whole church, the idea of a proper supremacy, such as that which was asserted in later times, was as yet unknown.[x] The bishops of Rome still admitted those of the other great "apostolical" churches—Alexandria and Antioch—to be of the same grade with themselves.[y] They did not pretend to be of a superior order to other bishops; nor did they claim a right of interfering with any diocese, except in case of the bishop's misconduct.[z]

The relations of the Roman bishops with the civil power varied according to the political changes of the times. At the election of a successor to Simplicius, in the year 483, Basil, an officer of Odoacer, appeared, and, professing to act in accordance with advice given by the late pope to his master, expressed the king's surprise that such a matter had been undertaken without obtaining the royal license; he also proposed a regulation that no

[t] Schröckh, xvii. 17; Planck, i. 658-60; Guizot, i. 329.

[u] Dupin, v. 62; Schröckh, xvii. 379-86; Planck, i. 701-2; Walter, 164. Dionysius is also memorable as the inventor of the paschal cycle mentioned p. 326; and as the author of dating from the Christian era. Pagi, ix. 393; Sirmond. in Patrol. lxvii. 137.

[x] Planck, i. 665-7; Giesel. I. ii. 401

[y] Ib. 405.

[z] Ib. 405-6; Planck, i. 668.

bishop of Rome should alienate any property belonging to the see, under pain of excommunication both for himself and for the purchaser.[a] The result is not recorded; but there can hardly be a doubt that the barbarian king's emissary had an important influence on the choice of the new bishop.[b]

Theodoric, in the earlier part of his reign, allowed the church a great liberty of self-regulation—considering that the schism which divided Rome from Constantinople secured him against any danger from correspondence between the clergy of his own dominions and their eastern brethren.[c] On the death of Anastasius II., in 498, a violent contest for the pontificate took place between Symmachus and Laurence. The Arian king did not interfere until the matter was brought before him at Ravenna by the parties,[d] when he decided that the see should belong to that bishop who had been first consecrated and had the larger number of adherents;[e] and Symmachus was consequently established. In 502 this bishop held a synod, by which the interference of Basil at the election after the death of Simplicius was indignantly reprobated as an unwarrantable encroachment on the part of the laity.[f] Theodoric allowed the censure to pass without notice—being probably not unwilling to permit an attack on the memory of his rival, even at the expense of failing to assert the claims of the crown.[g] In the following year, at the request of the partisans of Laurence, who had again made head, Theodoric appointed the bishop of Altino to act as "visitor" of the Roman church. The commissioner behaved (it is said) in an arbitrary and grossly partial manner, so as greatly to

[a] The authority for this is the synod of 502. Patrol. lxii. 74-3.

[b] See Tillem. xvi. 338; Schröckh, xvii. 179-81.

[c] Giesel. I. ii. 398.

[d] "Id quidem," says Baronius, "suasit impulitque importuna et malesuada necessitas, legum inscia." 498. 4-5.

[e] Anastas. 123.

[f] Patrol. lxii. 72-80.

[g] Schröckh, xvii. 180. 209; Giesel I. ii. 398-400.

irritate the adherents of Symmachus. For the investigation of some serious charges which had been brought against Symmachus, Theodoric summoned a council of Italian bishops, which, from the place of its meeting at Rome, is known as the Synod of the Palm;[h] and this assembly, after severely censuring the appointment of a visitor as an unwarranted novelty, pronounced Symmachus innocent, in so far as man's decision was concerned, and declared that, on account of certain specified difficulties, the case was left to the Divine judgment alone.[i] The proposition which has been erroneously inferred from this as the opinion of the council—that the pope was *exempt* from all earthly judgment—was soon after maintained by Ennodius, bishop of Ticinum (Pavia), a partisan of Symmachus;[k] and for the confirmation of the new pretension, acts of earlier popes were forged in a strain utterly contradictory to genuine older documents, such as the letters which had been addressed by the Roman clergy to the emperor Gratian.[l]

A.D. 503?

On the renewal of intercourse between Rome and Con-

[h] This name seems to be derived "a porticu beati Petri apostoli, quæ appellatur Ad Palmata" (Anastas. in Patrol. cxxviii. 700; Hefele, ii. 623). But there was also a place styled "Palma aurea," or "Domus palmata," in or near the forum (Anast. 226). Muratori (Annali, III. ii. 6) supposes this to have been a hall of the palace. Against him see Gregorov. i. 276. Mr. Dyer, in Dr. Smith's Dictionary of Geography (ii. 791), derives the title "Ad palmam" of the place near the forum from a statue of Claudius II., clad in the *tunica palmata*, which is mentioned by Trebellius Pollio (Hist. August. Scriptores, p. 203). As to the date and order of the synods, see Pagi and Mansi in Baron. ix. 12; Acta SS., Jul. 19, pp. 636, seqq. Bp. Hefele places the Synod of the Palm before that synod at which Basil was censured. ii. 623-5.

[i] Anastas. in Patrol. cxxviii. 451; Hard. ii. 967-70.

[k] Opusc. 2, Patrol. lxiii. 200. He says that the chair of St. Peter had a sanctifying power. Ib. 188.

[l] (A.D. 378.) See above, vol. i. p. 424; Baron. 500. 7; Giesel. I. ii. 402-4. Among these forgeries were the Acts of the pretended Council of Sinuessa (see above, vol. i. p. 211; Döllinger, Papst-Fabeln, 50). Symmachus introduced the custom of giving the *pall*, which will be more fully noticed in a later stage of the history. See, *e.g.*, his 12th epistle (Patrol. lxii.); Hussey, 134.

stantinople, Theodoric, as we have seen, began to watch the church with a jealousy very opposite to the spirit of his earlier system. The mission of Pope John to Constantinople, with its consequences, has been related in a former chapter.[m] Theodoric, in the month before his own death, nominated the successor of John, Felix IV., and during the remaining time of the Gothic rule in Italy the kings controlled the election of the popes.[n]

Justinian, in his eastern dominions, aimed at reducing the bishops to a greater dependence on the court; and, as this policy was accompanied by professions of great reverence for them, with an increase of their dignities and privileges in some respects, the Greeks submitted to it without reluctance.[o] The emperor not only interfered much in regulations as to matters of discipline, even the most important, but carried out largely the example first set by Basiliscus,[p] of determining points of faith by edicts.[q] His mandates in ecclesiastical matters were published by the agency of patriarchs, metropolitans, and bishops, in like manner as his edicts on secular subjects[r] were issued through the various grades of lay officials. He attempted, without the sanction of a general council, to erect a sixth patriarchate, by A.D. 541. bestowing on the bishop of his native place, Justiniana Prima or Lychnidus (Achrida), in Illyricum, a wide jurisdiction, with privileges which were intended to be modelled on those of Rome.[s] But the attempt proved abortive; the new patriarchs never obtained effectual acknowledgment of their pretensions, and, soon after the death of Justinian, the bishops of Lychnidus are found among those subject to the see of Rome.[t]

[m] P. 289.

[n] Cassiodor. Variarum, viii. 15; Baron. 526. 22; Mosh. ii. 19; Gibbon, iii. 471; Giesel. I. ii. 97-8.

[o] Ib. 395.

[p] P. 274.

[q] See Dupin, v. 55, seqq.: Schröckh, xvi. 27; xvii. 473; Giesel. I. ii. 396; Milman, Lat. Christ. i. 333, seqq.

[r] Bingh. II. xvii. 18; Giesel. I. ii. 395.

[s] Novell. xi.; cxxxi. 3.

[t] Greg. M. Ep. ii. 23; De Marca

On the conquest of Italy, Justinian began to deal with the bishops of Rome as he had dealt with those of Constantinople. He addressed them in flattering titles, and aimed at reducing them to the condition of tools.[u] He made new and stringent regulations as to the confirmation of the pope by the civil power. According to the 'Liber Diurnus,' (a collection of forms which represents the state of things in those days, or shortly after,[x]) the death of a Roman bishop was to be notified to the exarch of Ravenna; the successor was to be chosen by the clergy, the nobles of Rome, the soldiery, and the citizens; and the ratification of the election was to be requested in very submissive terms, both of the emperor and of his deputy the exarch.[y] The share which the laity had from early times enjoyed in the choice of bishops generally, was restricted by a law of Justinian, which ordered that the election should be made by the clergy and principal inhabitants of each city,[z] to the exclusion of the great mass of the people, whose disorderly behaviour had too often afforded a pretext for the change.

The proceedings of Vigilius in the controversy as to the 'Three Articles'—the humiliations which he endured—his vacillations, so utterly contradictory to the later Roman pretensions—tended to lower the dignity and reputation of his see; and it was greatly weakened by the schism of Aquileia and other provinces.[a] But, on the other hand, the Lombard invasion, in 568, had the effect of increasing the political power of the popes, as

II. ix. 1; Pagi, x. 151-2; Schröckh, xvii. 45; Wiltsch, i. 119-22.

[u] Schröckh, xvii. 475; Giesel. I. ii. 408.

[x] The editor, Garnier, refers it to the papacy of Gregory II., A.D. 714 (Patrol. cv. 13); but the system which it exhibits is older. See Pagi, xii. 381; Schröckh, xvii. 233-6; Herzog, art. *Liber Diurnus*.

[y] Lib. Diurn. ii. 1-4 (Patrol. cv.).

[z] "Clerici et primores civitatis" (Novell. cxxxvii. 2, A.D. 541). One commentator asserts, against Godefroy and common sense, that by "primores" are not meant "primores plebis," but the chief ecclesiastics, such as archdeacons and archpresbyters.

[a] Walch, viii. 325, seqq.; Giesel. I ii. 409-10.

they were obliged, in virtue of their extensive property, to take a prominent part in the measures adopted for self-defence by the inhabitants of such portions of Italy as still belonged to the empire; while their services were requited by the emperors with the power of appointing to many offices, and with other civil privileges.[b]

## II. *Condition of the Clergy.*

(1.) In the course of the fifth and sixth centuries, a growing opinion as to the obligation of celibacy on the clergy had the effect of separating them more and more widely from other Christians. No general council ventured to prohibit the marriage of the clergy; that of Chalcedon assumes the existence of prohibitions, but does not itself lay down any such law with a view of binding the whole church.[c] But local councils were continually occupied with the subject, and the bishops of Rome were steady in advancing the cause of celibacy.[d] The general aim of the canons enacted during this time was to prevent clerical marriage altogether, if possible; to extend the prohibition to the inferior grades of the ministry; to debar the married from higher promotion; to prevent such clerks as were allowed to marry once from entering into a second union; to limit their choice to women who had never been married; to separate the married clergy from their wives, or, if they lived together, to restrain them from conjugal intercourse.[e] These regu-

[b] Giesel. I. ii. 410-12; Planck, ii. 667.

[c] See Can. 14; Schröckh, xvi. 378-9.

[d] Id. viii. 25-6; xvi. 389.

[e] The widows of the higher clergy were forbidden to marry, under pain of exclusion from communion until on their death-bed (Conc. Tolet. I. A.D. 400, Can. 18). Theiner (i. 341, 343) interprets some other canons as ordering that widows of ecclesiastics, if they remarried, should not communicate even when dying; but the word used in those canons, "relicta," evidently does not mean a widow, but a wife whom her husband had *forsaken* on a religious ground, so that a second marriage during the husband's lifetime would have been adultery. See Conc. Illiber. cc. 8, 9 (Hard. i. 951); Greg. M. Epp. iv. 36; xi. 50.

lations belong chiefly to the western church—a greater liberty being apparently allowed in the east.[f] But, as has been remarked in a former period,[g] the frequency of such canons is itself a proof how imperfectly they were able to make way; and very many cases are recorded which show that the enforcement of them was found impracticable, and that a variety of usages in different places was largely tolerated.[h] Thus Lupus, bishop of Troyes, and Euphronius of Autun, while mentioning the restraints which they placed on the marriage of ostiaries, exorcists, and subdeacons, are obliged to content themselves with saying as to the higher grades, to which the canons forbade marriage, that they endeavoured to avoid raising to them persons engaged in that state, or to enforce separation between the married clergy and their wives.[i] And a witness of a more unfavourable kind to the resistance which such laws met with, is found in the fact that, in proportion as celibacy was enforced on the clergy, it became the more necessary to enact canons prohibiting them to entertain concubines or other "extraneous" female companions.[k]

The marriage of the clergy is now the subject not only of canons, but of imperial laws. Honorius, in 420—

[f] See Soc. v. 22; Planck, i. 352; Theiner, i. 330, seqq.

[g] Vol. i. p. 445.

[h] Schröckh, xvi. 385-7; Planck, i. 353; ii. 84-6; Theiner, i. 263.

[i] Lup. Ep. 2 (Patrol. lviii.).

[k] Schröckh, xvi. 387-9; Theiner, i. 335, 339, 341, 343, 353, 390, 395, &c. The council of Toledo, in 589, ordered that priests and deacons who had been converted from Arianism should renounce the conjugal intercourse which their heretical communion had allowed, or, if they persisted living "obscenely" with their wives should be reduced to the order of reader and that, if any of the clergy who had always been under the discipline of the church should be found to entertain suspicious women in their dwellings, the women should be sold by the bishops, and the price should be given to the poor (Conc. Tolet. III. c. 5). In the following year a council at Seville states that some bishops had neglected to enforce this canon, and orders that the judges should, with the bishop's permission, seize the "extraneas fœminas vel ancillas" for their own profit, swearing to the bishpos that they would not restore them to their clerical friends. Conc. Hispal. I. c. 3 (Patrol lxxxiv.).

perhaps at the suggestion of Boniface, bishop of Rome—enacted, in accordance with the Nicene canon, that the clergy should not have as inmates of their houses any women except their own nearest relatives; but it was allowed that such of the clergy as had married before ordination should retain their wives; "for," it was said, "those are not unfitly joined to clerks who have, by their conversation, made their husbands worthy of the priesthood."[1] A century later, Justinian, by several enactments, forbade the promotion of persons who had children or grandchildren to bishopricks, on the ground that such connexions were a temptation to prefer the interests of kindred to those of the church; he confirmed all the ecclesiastical prohibitions of clerical marriage, and declared the issue of such marriages illegitimate, and incapable of inheriting property.[m]

(2.) The privileges of the clergy in general were on the increase.[n] Their immunities were confirmed and enlarged; the tendency of legislation was to encourage the bestowal of riches on the church, and to secure to it the permanent possession of all that had been acquired.[o] The idea of expiating sin by money, and especially by liberality to the church, was now put forth more broadly than before;[p] and it found the readier entrance among the Teutonic tribes from the circumstance that the

[1] Cod. Theod. XVI. ii. 44; Theiner, i. 261; comp. Just. Novell. cxxiii. 29.

[m] Cod. Just. I. iii. 42, 45, 48; Novell. vi. 2; cxxiii. 12-14; cxxxvii. 1.

[n] Schröckh, xvi. 337.

[o] *E.g.*, Cod. Just. I. ii. 1, 14; Novell. vii.; Bingh. V. ii.; iv. 6, 9; Baron. 455. 25-8; Schröckh, viii. 15; xvi. 400-4, 409; Planck, i. 288.

[p] As by Salvian, in his four books 'Adversus Avaritiam' (Patrol. liii.), *e.g.*, "*Peccata tua*, inquit, *in eleemosynis redime* (Dan. iv. 24). Quid est aliqua redimere? opinor, pretium rerum quæ redimuntur dare . . . Æstima diligentissime culpas quas admisisti. Vide quid pro mendaciis debeas, quid pro maledictis atque perjuriis, etc. Cumque omnium supputaveris numerum, expende pretia singulorum" (i. 12). In a letter relating to these books, he says that gifts and charities are the easiest way of redeeming sins—easier than the endurance of penitential discipline ("exomologesi et satisfactione"); and that to give money to God is greater and more excellent than to bestow it on the poor or on churches (Ep. 9),—where by giving "to God" he seems to mean religious

system of compensating for crimes by fines had prevailed among them before their conversion.[q] Laws and canons were often found necessary to check the practice of obtaining ordination or spiritual dignities by money.[r]

While the judgment of ecclesiastical matters belonged exclusively to the spiritual courts,[s] the bishops had cognizance also of secular causes in which the clergy were concerned, although in these causes the parties were at liberty either to resort in the first instance to a secular tribunal, or to appeal from the bishop to the lay judge, whose sentence, if contrary to that of the bishop, might become the subject of a further appeal.[t]

In criminal cases, the clergy were exempted from the jurisdiction of lay tribunals for slight offences, although it seems to be doubtful how far this exemption practically extended.[u] Honorius, in 407, at the request of African councils, appointed lay "defenders" (*defensores*) of the church, whose business it was to watch over its privileges and to maintain its rights, so that the clergy should not be obliged to appear personally in secular courts.[x] Justinian enacted that bishops should not be required to give evidence in courts; certain officers were appointed to wait on them for the purpose of taking their depositions, which were not to be made on oath, but on their mere word, with the Gospels lying before them.[y] The bishops were charged with an oversight of prisoners,

endowments. Schröckh, however, appears to me to treat Salvian with great injustice as to this. xvi. 419, seqq.

[q] Schröckh, xvi. 426-7; Schmidt, i. 351; Giesel. I. ii. 450.

[r] *E.g.*, Glycerius ap. Leon. M. iii. 896; Cod. Just. I. iii. 33; Novell. cxxiii. 16; Schröckh, xvi. 326-7; xvii. 217, 220.

[s] Cod. Just. I. iv. 29.

[t] Ib. 4; Novell. cxxiii. 21. Compare a rescript of the Gothic king Athalaric (A.D. 528?) by which jurisdiction in all cases affecting the Roman clergy is given in the first instance to the pope. Cassiodor. Var. viii. 24 (Patrol. lxix.). See Gregorov. i. 322.

[u] See Planck, i. 304-7. The council of Mâcon, A.D. 581, lays down that secular judges are not to meddle with them "absque causâ criminali, *i.e.* homicidio, furto, aut maleficio." c. 7.

[x] Conc. Carth. A.D. 400, c. 9; Cod. Just. I. iii. 53-4. See Thomass. I ii. 9.

[y] Novell. cxxiii. 7.

lunatics, minors, foundlings, and other helpless persons, and were furnished with the powers necessary for the exercise of it.[z] They were also charged with a general supervision of public morals—thus, for example, it was their duty to check the practice of gaming.[a] They were, in conjunction with the civil magistrates, to manage the appointment of the subordinate officers of government, and were, with the principal inhabitants of each city, to superintend public works, buildings, and establishments, as also the administration of the local revenues.[b] They were to see that the civil governors and judges did their duty, while the governors in turn were to take care that the bishops should hold synods regularly, and should not alienate the property of the church;[c] but whereas the prefect was not authorised to do more than admonish a bishop of his neglect, and, in case of his persevering in it, to report the matter to the emperor, the bishop had in some circumstances a right to supersede the prefect in his functions.[d] The consequence of such regulations was, that the bishops advanced in political influence, and became more entangled in secular business; and that, agreeably to the object of Justinian's policy, they were reduced into a greater dependence on the emperor by becoming officers of the state.[e]

(3.) The patronage of the churches in every diocese originally belonged to the bishop.[f] The earliest exception to this rule was made by the first council of Orange, in 441, which enacted that where a bishop, for some special reason, had built a church within the diocese of another, he should, in consideration of his bounty, be allowed to appoint the incumbent.[g] This

[z] Cod. Just. I. iv. 22, 24, 27, 28, 30, 33.

[a] Ib. 25, 34; III. xliii. 1, 3.

[b] Ib. I. iv. 17, 26; Novell. cxxviii. 16.

[c] Ib vii.; Epilog. cxxxvii. 6.

[d] Novell. lxxxvi.

[e] Schröckh, xvi. 325, 339-42.

[f] Thomass. II. i. 33-4.

[g] Can. 10; Thomass. II. i. 29; Walter, 488.

privilege was extended to the laity in general by a law of Justinian, which enacted that any one who should found a church, and should endow it with a maintenance for a clerk, might nominate a person who should be ordained to it. The bishops, however, were at liberty in such cases to refuse ordination, if the individual presented were unfit.[h]

A.D. 541.

(4.) The power of the clergy in the west survived the system under which it had grown up. During the barbarian invasions, they often stood forward, and with effect, to intercede for their flocks.[i] The conquerors found them established as a body important on account of their secular influence, as well as of the sacred nature of their functions.[k] On the settlement of the new kingdoms, the church mediated between the victorious and the vanquished; it held up before the rude barbarians the idea of a law higher than human law—of a moral power superior to force—of a controlling and vindicating Providence.[l] Few of the conquering race were disposed to enter into the ranks of the clergy; their ordination, indeed, was not allowed without the leave of the sovereign, lest the nation should be deprived of its warriors.[m] The ministry of the church, unlike other paths to distinction, was open to the ability of the subjugated people, and through it they acquired a powerful influence over their conquerors.[n] The clergy were the sole possessors of learning; they were the agents of civilization, the reformers of law,[o] the authorized protectors of the weak;[p] they superintended the administration of justice;[q] they

[h] Novell. cxxiii. 18.

[i] Schmidt, i. 347; Löbell, 319.

[k] It has been supposed that the regard paid by the barbarians to the clergy was transferred from the priests of their old national idolatries (Mosh. i. 439; Schröckh, xvi. 341). Against this, see Rettberg, ii. 577; Milman, Lat. Christ. i. 360.

[l] Guizot, i. 34, 38; Löbell, 268-70.

[m] Marculf. Formul. i. 19 (Patrol. lxxxvii.); Schröckh, xvi. 343; Guizot, ii. 32.

[n] Gibbon, iii. 418; Guizot, i. 95.

[o] Planck, ii. 328-38.

[p] See, *e.g.*, Conc. Tolet. IV A.D. 633, c. 32; Rückert, ii 349.

[q] Planck, ii. 263-5.

were often employed as envoys and peacemakers between princes.[r] Some had the reputation of miracles; others were venerable and formidable as holding the possession of miraculous shrines—such as that of St. Martin at Tours.[s] Riches flowed in on them; tithes were enforced by canons,[t] and large donations of land—a kind of property which increased in value as the people advanced in civilization—were bestowed on them.[u] In order to secure the influence of bishops and abbots, kings endowed their churches and monasteries with estates, to which the usual obligation of military service was attached, and in no long time some of the ecclesiastical holders began to discharge such duties in their own persons.[x] Gregory of Tours mentions with horror the warlike achievements of two brothers belonging to the episcopal order, Salonius and Sagittarius;[y] but the feeling of the indecency of such things was gradually blunted among the Franks. The political importance and the territorial wealth of the bishops gave them the rank of counsellors to the sovereign; and in that character their abilities and knowledge often won for them an influence exceeding that of all others.[z] Hence in France a system of mixed ecclesiastical and secular councils grew up, which for a time superseded the purely spiritual synods.[a] Thus while the bishops gained in secular power, the metropolitan jurisdiction was weakened by the disuse of the ancient provincial assemblies, as well as by the circumstance that, in the new partition of the country, the province of a metropolitan might be divided

[r] Schröckh, xvi. 365; Giesel. I. ii. 447.

[s] See Greg. Tur. iv. 2; Schröckh, xvi. 341; Löbell, 274-88.

[t] The earliest penal canon as to tithes is the fifth of the second council of Mâcon, A.D. 585, which denounces excommunication.

[u] Schröckh, xvi. 418, 435-6; Planck, ii. 380-7; Guizot, i. 449.

[x] Ib. 119; Rettb. ii. 566-7. See Ducange, s. v. *Hostis*.

[y] iv. 43.

[z] Planck, ii. 232-41.

[a] Schröckh, xvi. 436-7, 439; Planck, ii. 125-35; Giesel. I. ii. 446; Löbell, 321-3; Rettb. ii. 265.

between different kingdoms ;[b] and the king came to be regarded as the highest judge in ecclesiastical affairs as well as in others.[c]

The clergy, like the other Romanized subjects of the Frankish monarchy, continued to be governed by the Roman law.[d] They retained all the privileges which it had conferred on them, and, as the conquerors were themselves ignorant of it, the bishops had a large share in the administration of the law among the Roman population in general.[e] As the bishops rose, the other clergy, being of the conquered races, sank in relative position. Ordination, indeed, was regarded as emancipating them ; but while priests to the laity,[f] they were serfs to the bishops. The old relation of the bishop and his council disappears. The prelates treated their subject clergy with great rudeness, and their power over them became more despotic as the decay of metropolitans and the cessation of provincial synods deprived the clergy of all power of appeal except to the sovereign ;[g] canons of the time enact bodily chastisement as the penalty for some ecclesiastical offences, while other canons were found necessary to restrain the bishops from beating their clerks

[b] Planck, ii. 635.

[c] Hist. Litt. iii. 17 ; Planck, ii. 177, seqq. ; Giesel. I. ii. 446.

[d] In the new barbarian kingdoms, law was not regarded as having authority according to territories, but according to persons—those who dwelt in the same province or in the same town being subject, not to one common system, but each man to the law of his own race or nation. Thus Agobard, in the ninth century, remonstrates with Lewis the Pious against "tanta diversitas legum quanta non solum in singulis regionibus aut civitatibus, sed etiam in multis domibus habetur. Nam plerumque contingit ut simul eant aut sedeant quinque homines, et nullus eorum communem legem cum altero habeat exterius in rebus transitoriis, cum interius, in rebus perennibus, una Christi lege teneantur." (Adv. Legem Gundobaldi, 4, Patrol. civ.) See Gibbon, iii. 418 ; Planck, ii. 106-7 ; Savigny, i. 115-30, 141-2, 638 ; Giesel. I. ii. 443 ; Walter, 178 ; Rettb. i. 287-9.

[e] Schmidt, i. 348 ; Rettb. ii. 638.

[f] The second council of Mâcon, A.D. 585, enacts that, if a layman on horseback meet a mounted clerk, he shall uncover his head ; if the clerk be on foot, the layman must dismount and salute him, under pain of being suspended from communion during the bishop's pleasure. c

[g] Planck, ii. 366-9.

at pleasure.[h] The clergy sometimes attempted to protect themselves by combining against their superiors; and such combinations are repeatedly forbidden by councils.[i]

The rude princes of Gaul often behaved with lawless violence in ecclesiastical affairs.[k] The prerogative which Clovis had acquired by his merits towards the church was increased by his successors.[l] The influence which the eastern emperors had exercised in appointments to the greater sees, and to the bishopricks of the cities which were places of imperial residence, was extended by the Frank sovereigns to all sees; it would seem that the vacancy of a bishoprick or of an archbishoprick was notified to the king, that his license was required before an election, and his confirmation after it.[m] Councils repeatedly enacted that bishops should not be appointed until after election by the clergy and people, and with the consent of the metropolitan;[n] but the election was often rendered an empty form by a royal nomination, and kings often took it on themselves to appoint and to depose bishops by their own sole power,[o]—an usurpation which was facilitated by the connexion with the crown into which bishops were brought by the tenure of their estates. In such cases the royal patronage was often obtained by simony or other unworthy means, and was bestowed on persons scandalously unfit for the office;[p] while the change in the manner of appointment combined with other influences to widen the separation between the

[h] Conc. Matisc. I. A.D. 581, c. 8; Conc. Narbon. A.D. 589, cc. 5, 6, 13; Greg. Turon. viii. 22; Perry, 476. In Spain also similar canons were required: *e.g.*, Conc. Tolet. III. A.D. 589, c. 20; Conc. Bracar. III. A.D. 675, c. 6.

[i] Conc. Aurel. III. A.D. 538, c. 21; Conc. Rem. A.D. 630, c. 2; Greg. Tur. vi. 11, &c.; Planck, ii. 71; Guizot, ii. 54-6; Giesel. I. ii. 445: Perry, 477.

[k] Löbell, 321.

[l] Ib. 336-50.

[m] Planck, ii. 114-18.

[n] Conc. Claromont. A.D. 535, c. 2; Conc. Aurel. V. A.D 549, c. 10; Conc. Paris. III. A.D. 557, c. 8, &c.

[o] Planck, ii. 65-6; Guizot, ii. 30; Giesel. I. ii. 445; Neand. v. 129; Rückert, ii. 360-3.

[p] Neand. v. 126-8; Rückert, ii. 497, seqq.; Perry, 480-3.

bishops and the other clergy.[q] The license of the sovereign, which under the empire was required for general councils only, was in Gaul necessary for all; the kings composed the councils at their own will, from larger or smaller districts, of a greater or less number of bishops, and with such mixture of laymen as they pleased;[r] and not content with this, they made many regulations by their own authority in matters concerning religion.[s] The wealth of the clergy soon attracted their cupidity,[t] and they endeavoured to get a part of it into their own hands by heavy taxation or by forcible acts of rapacity; but on such occasions, it is said, the property of the church was protected by the judicial infliction of sickness, death, or calamity on her assailants; and by tales and threats of such judgments the clergy were often able to ward off aggression.[u]

## III. *Monasticism.*

Monachism continued to increase in popularity during the fifth and sixth centuries: but when a system founded on a profession of rigour becomes popular, its corruption may be safely inferred.[x] We have seen how in the controversies of the east the monks held all parties in terror —wielding a vast influence by their numbers and their fanatical rage. Justinian made several enactments in favour of monachism[y]—as, for example, that married

[q] Guizot, ii. 52; Löbell, 338-9.

[r] Planck, ii. 132; Lau, 188; Neand. v. 131.

[s] Schröckh, xvi. 344-5.

[t] Löbell, 350-1. The complaint of Chilperic I. (that "Nero and Herod of our time," as the bishop of Tours styles him) is famous:—"Ecce pauper remansit fiscus noster, ecce divitiæ nostræ ad ecclesias sunt translatæ. Nulli penitus, nisi soli episcopi, regnant; periit honor noster, et translatus est ad episcopos civitatum." Greg. Tur. vi. 46.

[u] Gibbon, iii. 418; Planck, ii. 203-9; Löbell, 329; Rettb. ii. 724-7. "Comme si ceux qui sont saints pour avoir méprisé les richesses sur la terre, étoient devenus intéressés dans le ciel, et employoient leur crédit auprès de Dieu pour se venger de ceux qui pilloient les trésors de ses églises." Fleury, Disc. ii. 3.

[x] Mosh. i. 411-12; Giesel. I. ii. 417

[y] See Novell. v., cxxxviii.

persons might embrace the monastic life without the consent of their partners,[z] children without the leave of parents,[a] and slaves without that of their masters.[b] Monks more and more acquired the character of clergy, although it was usual in monastic societies that only so many of the members should be ordained as were necessary for the performance of religious offices, and some monasteries were even without any resident presbyter.[c] Leo the Great forbids monks to preach, or to intermeddle with other clerical functions;[d] and other prohibitions to the same effect are found.[e] As, however, the monks had a greater popular reputation for holiness than the clergy, and consequently a greater influence over the people, it was the interest of the clergy rather to court than to oppose them.[f]

The council of Chalcedon enacted that monasteries should be strictly under the control of the bishops in whose dioceses they were situated, and that no one should found a monastery without the bishop's consent;[g] and orders of a like purport are found both among the canons of other councils and among laws of the emperor Justinian.[h] The first country in which this principle was violated was Africa, where, about the year 520, many monastic societies, passing over the local bishops, placed themselves under the primate of Carthage or other distant prelates.[i] Throughout the other countries of the west,

[z] Cod. I. iii. 53, 3; Novell. cxxiii. 40.

[a] Cod. I. iii. 55.

[b] Novell. v. 2. During the probation of three years, to which all monks were to be subjected, fugitive slaves might be reclaimed by their masters if any charge of theft or other misdemeanour could be established against them, but not otherwise. After three years the monastic habit was put on, and the slave who had assumed it could no longer be molested. (Ib.) Compare a constitution of Leo, Novell. Const. x. p. 242.

[c] Thomass. I. iii. 14; Schröckh, xvii. 395, 399-400; Planck, i. 421-6. As to monks being afterwards ordained in greater numbers, see Guizot, ii. 89-90.

[d] Ep. cxviii. 2; cxix. 6.

[e] See Theiner, i. 116-18. Planck, i. 427.

[f] Cc. 4, 8.

[g] Just. Novell. v. 1; lxvii. 1; Bingh II. iv. 2; Guizot, ii. 84-5; Giesel. I. ii. 392; Montalemb. i. 254.

[i] Conc. Carthag. A.D. 525 (Labb. iv

the local bishop still had the superintendence of monasteries—in so far, at least, as the abbots and the clerical members were concerned, although some canons prevented his interference in the relations between the head and the lay brethren.[k]

The revolutions of the west were favourable to monasticism. Monks, both by their numbers and by their profession of especial sanctity, impressed the barbarian conquerors. Their abodes, therefore, became a secure retreat from the troubles of the time ; they were honoured and respected, and wealth was largely bestowed on them.[l] But where the monastic profession was sought by many for reasons very different from those which its founders had contemplated—for the sake of a safe and tranquil life rather than for penitence or religious perfection—a strong tendency to degeneracy was naturally soon manifested.[m] And thus in the earlier part of the sixth century there was room for the labours of a reformer.

Benedict, the great legislator of western monachism, was born near Nursia (now Norcia), in the duchy of Spoleto, about the year 480,[n] and at the age of twelve was sent to study at Rome ; but in disgust at the irregularities of his fellow-students he fled from the city at fourteen, and, separating himself even from his nurse, who had attended him, he lived for three years in a cave near Subiaco. The only person acquainted with the secret of his retreat was a monk named Romanus, who, having seen him in his flight, was led to take an interest in him ; he furnished the young recluse with a monastic habit, and saved from his own con-

1646-9); Conc. ib. A.D. 534 (ib. 1785); Thomass. I. iii. 31-4.

[k] *E.g.*, Conc. Arelat. III. A.D. 455 (Labb. iv. 1024); Mosh. ii. 12; Giesel. I. ii. 425-6.

[l] Schröckh, xvii. 397-8; Guizot, ii. 120.

[m] Schröckh, xvii. 296.

[n] Mabill. I. xi. An account of him forms the second of St. Gregory's Dialogues, and may be found in Mabillon, i., Muratori, iv., or the Patrologia, lxvi. As to his parentage, Gregory says only that he was "liberiori genere" (c. 1), but later writers magnified the dignity and splendour of his family. See note on Adrevald, Patrol. cxxiv. 911; Montalemb. ii. 8.

ventual allowance of bread a quantity sufficient for his support, conveying it to him, on certain days, by a string let down to the mouth of the cave.[o] At length Benedict was discovered by some shepherds; he instructed them and others who resorted to him, and performed a number of miracles. In consequence of the fame which he had now attained, he was chosen abbot of a monastery in the neighbourhood; but his attempt at a reformation provoked its inmates, who, in order to rid themselves of him, mixed poison with his drink. A.D. 510. On his making the customary sign of the cross, the cup flew to pieces; whereupon he mildly reminded the monks that he had warned them against electing a person of character and habits so unlike their own, and returned to his solitude.[p] His renown gradually spread; great multitudes flocked to him, and even some members of the Roman nobility entrusted their children to him for education; he built twelve monasteries, each for an abbot and twelve monks.[q] But finding himself disquieted by the persevering malignity of a priest named Florentius, who out of envy attempted to destroy him by calumny and by poison, he quitted Subiaco, with a few chosen companions, in the year 528.[r] After some wanderings, he arrived at Monte Cassino, where, on a lofty height overlooking the wide valley of the Liris, Apollo was still worshipped by the rustics, and a grove sacred to the pagan deities continued to be held in reverence. The devil attempted to check him by various prodigies; but Benedict triumphed over such obstacles, cut down the grove, destroyed the idol of Apollo, and on the site of the altar erected an oratory dedicated to St. John the

[o] Gregor. 1. "It seems probable that the site was in his days quite deserted, and that the modern town owes its origin to the monastery founded by him." E. H. Bunbury, in Smith's Dict. of Geography, art. *Sublaqueum.*

[p] Gregor. 3. Hence Benedict is represented with a broken cup in his hand.

[q] Ib

[r] Ib. 8.

Evangelist and St. Martin—the germ of the great and renowned monastery which became the mother of all the societies of the west.[s] Here he drew up his 'Rule' about the year 529—the same year in which the schools of Athens were suppressed,[t] and in which the Semipelagian doctrine was condemned by the council of Orange.[u]

The severity of earlier rules—fitted as they were for the eastern regions in which monachism had originated, rather than for those of the west into which it had made its way—had become a pretext for a general relaxation of discipline throughout the western monasteries,[x] while, on the other hand, it had given occasion for much hypocritical pretension. Benedict, therefore, in consideration of this, intended his code to be of a milder and more practical kind—suited for European constitutions, and variable in many respects according to the climate of the different countries into which it might be introduced.[y]

Every Benedictine monastery was to be under an abbot, chosen by the monks and approved by the bishop.[z] The brethren were to regard their head as standing in the place of Christ, and were therefore to yield him an obedience ready, cheerful, and entire;[a] while the founder was careful to impress on the abbots a feeling of responsibility for the authority committed to them, and the duty of moderation in the exercise of it.[b] The monks were to address the abbot by the title *Dominus;* in speaking to each other they were not to mention the names of the individuals, but were to use the titles of father (*nonnus*), or brother, according to their relative age; the younger were to make way for

[s] Gregor. 8; Beugnot, ii. 285-7; Guizot, ii. 74.
[t] P. 295.
[u] P. 315.
[x] Schröckh, xvii. 443, 452, 458-9; Guizot, ii. 74.
[y] Fleury, xxxii. 19; Mosh. ii. 22-4; Guizot, ii. 80; Giesel. I. ii. 420; Neand iii. 374.
[z] Regula, c. 64 (Patrol. lxvi.).
[a] Cc. 15, 63. See Guizot, ii. 77.
[b] Cc. 2, 3, 27, 64.

their elders, to rise up to them, to resign their seats to them, to ask their blessing, and to stand in their presence, unless permitted by the seniors to sit down.[c] Such priests or other clergymen as might be in a monastery, whether specially ordained for its service or admitted at their own request, were not to claim any precedence on account of their orders, and were to be subject to the abbot, like the other brethren.[d] Next in order to the abbot, there might be a prior or provost (*præpositus*); but as, in some monastic societies, where the prior was appointed by the bishop, he assumed an air of independence towards the abbot, the Benedictine provost was to be chosen by the abbot, and was to be subject to him in all things. Benedict, however, preferred that, instead of a prior, the abbot should be assisted in his government by elders or deans (*decani*).[e] With these he was to consult on ordinary occasions, while for important matters he was to take counsel with the whole community.[f]

Parents might devote their children to the monastic life.[g] Candidates for admission into the order were required to submit to probation for a year, in the course of which the 'Rule' was thrice read over to them, and they were questioned as to their resolution to abide by it. At their reception they laid on the altar a written vow of stedfastness, amendment, and obedience, which those who were unable to write signed with their mark.[h] The first of these articles was an important novelty; for whereas formerly, although persons who forsook the monastic for the married state were liable to censures and penance,[i] their marriage was yet allowed to continue, the introduction of the Benedictine rule led to the practice of forcibly separating monks who married from their wives.

[c] C. 63. [d] Cc. 60, 62. [e] C. 59. See Ducange, s. v. *Oblati*.
[f] C. 65. [g] C. 3 [h] Regula, c. 58. [i] Basil. Resp. 36.

and dragging them back to their monasteries.[k] All the property of the novice, if not already distributed to the poor, was to be given to the monastery,[l] and a strict community of goods was to be observed by the monks. Their beds were to be often searched, and, if any one were found to have secreted anything as his peculiar property, he was to be punished;[m] nor were presents or letters to be received, even from the nearest relation, without permission of the abbot, who was authorized, at his own pleasure, to transfer any gift to some other person than the one for whom it was intended.[n]

A distinctive feature of the Benedictine system was the provision of ample occupation for the monks,—especially of manual labour, which in the western monasteries had as yet been little practised.[o] They were to rise for matins at two hours after midnight;[p] to attend eight services daily, or, if at a distance from the monastery, to observe the hours of the services;[q] and they were to work seven hours.[r] The whole Psalter was to be recited every week in the course of the services.[s] Portions of time were assigned for committing psalms to memory, for the study of Scripture, and for reading Cassian's 'Conferences,' lives of saints, and other devout and edifying books.[t] At meals, a book was to be read aloud, but no conversation was to be held;[u] and in general there was to be little talk.[x] Each monk, except the cellarer, and those who were engaged in "greater

[k] Schröckh, xvii. 453-4; Neand. iii. 373; Giesel. I. ii. 421-2. Monks were however sometimes allowed to forsake their profession; for it is ordered that their secular clothes shall be kept, in order that if any one, "suadente diabolo," should wish to withdraw ("quod absit"), he may be stripped of the monastic dress, and turned out in his own (c. 58). His petition or vow was to be preserved as a witness against him, in order, according to the Comment (Patrol. lxvi. 838), that the abbot might still have the power of reclaiming him.

[l] C. 58. [m] C. 55.
[n] Cc. 33, 54.
[o] Guizot, ii. 75; Giesel. I. ii. 420.
[p] C. 8. [q] Cc. 16, 50.
[r] C. 48. [s] C. 18
[t] Cc. 42, 73. [u] C. 38.
[x] Ib.

duties," was required to act as cook in turn, for a week at a time.[y] At dinner there were to be two sorts of cooked *pulmentaria*, "that they who cannot eat of the one" (said Benedict) "may perchance be refreshed by the other." These *pulmentaria* included grain and vegetables dressed in various ways; some authorities extend the word to eggs, fish, and even to birds, inasmuch as four-footed beasts are only specified as forbidden.[z] A third dish, of uncooked fruit or salad, might be added where such things were to be had.[a] Each monk was allowed a small measure of wine; because (as Benedict remarked), although monks ought not to taste wine, it had been found impossible to enforce such a rule.[b] A pound of bread was the usual daily allowance; but all such matters were to be arranged at the discretion of the abbot, according to the climate and the season, the age, the health, and the employment of the monks.[c] Flesh was forbidden, except to the sick, who, while they were to be carefully tended, were required to consider that such service was bestowed on them for God's sake, and not in order that they might be encouraged in "superfluity."[d] Hospitality was enjoined towards strangers, and especially towards the poor, "because in them Christ is more especially received"; even the abbot himself was required to share in washing the feet of guests.[e] The dress of the monks was to be coarse and plain, but might be varied according to circumstances.[f] They were to sleep by ten or twelve in a

[y] C. 35.

[z] See the Comment on c. 39, and Mabill. Annal. l. xxviii. c. 58. In the Order of Grammont (for which see Book VI. c. vii.) the *pulmentaria* were held to include cheese, eggs, and fish, but not fowls (Antiqua Statuta, c. 22, Martene, Thesaur. iv. 1233). John of Salisbury is still more liberal in his construction of the word—"Nec enim pulmentum olere aut legumine duntaxat constare certum est, tum ex multis, tum ex eo quod patriarcha Isaac de venatione filii sui sibi pulmentum fieri imperavit." Polycrat. viii. 7 (Patrol. cxcix. 734).

[a] C. 39. [b] C. 40.

[c] Cc. 39-40. [d] Cc. 36-39.

[e] C. 53. [f] C. 55.

room, each in a separate bed, with their clothes and girdles on. A dean was to preside over each dormitory, and a light was to be kept burning in each.[g] No talking was allowed after compline—the last service of the day.[h]

The monks were never to go out without permission, and those who had been sent out on business were forbidden to distract their brethren by relating their adventures on their return.[i] In order that there might be little necessity for leaving the monastery, it was to contain within its precincts the garden, the mill, the well, the bakehouse, and other requisite appurtenances.[k] The occupation of every monk was to be determined by the abbot; if any one were disposed to pride himself on his skill in any art or handicraft, he was to be forbidden to practise it.[l] Monks were to sell the productions of their labour at a lower price than other men—a regulation by which Benedict intended to guard against the appearance of covetousness,[m] without, probably, considering how it might interfere with the fair profit of secular persons, who depended on their trades for a livelihood.

In punishments, the abbot was directed to employ words or bodily chastisement, according to the character of the culprit.[n] For the lighter offences the monks were punished by being excluded from the common table, and obliged to take their meals at a later hour, or by being forbidden to take certain parts in the service of the chapel; while those who had been guilty of heavier transgressions were entirely separated from their brethren, and were committed to a seclusion in which

[g] C. 22.
[h] C. 42.
[i] C. 67.
[k] C. 66.
[l] C. 57. Comp. Basil. Resp. 41-2.
[m] C. 57. St. Basil says that he would rather have the productions of his monks sold for somewhat less, than that they should go far in search of a better market. Resp. 39.
[n] Cc. 2, 23.

they were visited by the most venerable members of the society,[o] with a view to their consolation and amendment.[p]

Gregory the Great, in his account of Benedict, ascribes to him a multitude of miracles and prophecies. Among other things, it is related that the Gothic king Totila, wishing to have an interview with the saint, made trial of his penetration by sending to him an officer dressed in the royal robes; but that Benedict discovered the device, and afterwards foretold to Totila the course of his successes, with his eventual ruin.[q]

Before the death of the founder, which took place in 543,[r] the Benedictine system had been established in Gaul, Spain, and Sicily,[s] and in no long time it absorbed all the monachism of the west—being the first example of a great community spread through various countries and subject to one rule, although without that organised unity which marked the monastic orders of later times.[t] Its ramifications were multiplied under a variety of names; and, although precluded by their vow of obedience from altering their rule, the later Benedictines were able, by

[o] "Sympectas, id est seniores sapientes fratres" (c. 27). Some read *senipetas*, which is interpreted as = *senium petentes*. Smaragdus, however, who, in the ninth century, wrote a commentary on the 'Rule,' although he reads *senipetas*, says that the word is not Latin, but Greek (Patrol. cii. 852); and the more correct reading is said to be *sempectas* or *sympectas*—a word which is supposed to be derived from συμπαίκτης, a *playfellow*. Ducange (s. v. *Sempecta*) conjectures that the old monks were so called because juniors were assigned to them as playfellows; but the editor thinks that the name was rather given to them as being companions of the penitents, whose minds it was their duty to amuse and interest. See the description of a sempecta in Dr. Maitland's 'Dark Ages,' 305.

[p] Cc. 23, 24, 25, 27, 44.

[q] Greg. 14-15. Compare the story of St. Severin and Odoacer, p. 259.

[r] Mabill. i. 18. Some say 547. See Dupin, v. 65.

[s] From Maur, who introduced it into Gaul, the celebrated congregation of St. Maur took its name. The existence of St. Maur has been questioned by some Protestants, apparently with very little reason. Acta SS., Jan. 15; Schröckh, xvii. 465; Montalemb. ii 250-1.

[t] Fleury, xxxiii. 13; Mosh. ii. 24; Schröckh, xvii. 433, 462; Giesel. I. ii. 421; Guizot, ii. 81.

means of a distinction between the essential and the accidental parts of it, to find pretexts for a departure in many respects from the rigour of the original constitutions.[u] In addition to the spiritual discipline which was the primary object of their institution, the monks employed themselves in labours which were greatly beneficial to mankind. They cleared forests, made roads, reduced wastes into fertility by tillage, and imparted the science of agriculture to the barbarians; they civilized rude populations, and extirpated the remains of heathenism. Although St. Benedict had not contemplated the cultivation of learning in his monasteries—an object which was first recommended to monks by his contemporary Cassiodore[x]—it was found to agree well with the regular distribution of time which was a characteristic of the system.[y] During the troubled centuries which followed, learning found a refuge in the Benedictine cloisters; the monks transcribed the works of classical and Christian antiquity, and were the chief instruments of preserving them. They taught the young; they chronicled the events of their times; and, in later ages, the learning and

[u] Mosh. ii. 23-4. See St. Bernard's treatise, 'De Præcepto et Dispensatione,' Patrol. clxxii.; Pet. Cluniac. Epp. i. 28; iv. 17 (ib. clxxxix.).

[x] Cassiodore, a senator, after having been employed as secretary by Theodoric and other Gothic kings, and having held high political offices, retired at the age of seventy to the neighbourhood of his native place, Squillace in Calabria, where he founded the monastery of Vivarium (A.D. 539). It was furnished with a library, and in other respects was widely different from the monastic establishments of the east, as appears from the interesting description which he has left of it (De Instit Divinarum Litterarum, 29, seqq., Patrol. lxx.). Cassiodore superintended it in the character of patron. The Benedictines claim him as one of their order (Patrol. lxix. 483), but without sufficient ground. He recommended to his monks the study and the transcription of religious and other writings. He composed many books for their instruction—one of them at the age of ninety-three; and, among other works, compiled the 'Historia Tripartita'—a compendium of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret—which throughout the middle ages was the standard authority in the Latin church for the history of the period which it embraces. The time of his death is unknown. See the Life, by Garet, in Patrol. lxix.; Baron. 514. 1; 562. 8-23; Dupin, v. 63; Schröckh, xvi. 58-xvii. 137-53.

[y] Hist. Litt. iii. 31.

industry of this noble order have rendered inestimable services to literature.[z]

## IV. *Rites and Usages.*

(1.) In matters connected with worship, the tendencies of the fourth century were more fully carried out during the two which followed, by the multiplication and the increased splendour of ceremonies, the gorgeous and costly decoration of churches, and the addition of new festivals.[a]

The reverence paid to saints rose higher; their intercession and protection were entreated, their relics were eagerly sought after, and extravagant stories were told of miracles wrought not only by such relics themselves, but by cloths which had touched them, and by water in which they had been dipped.[b] Churches were dedicated to saints and angels; whereas there had originally been only one altar in every church, additional altars in honour of the saints were now erected in the churches of the west;[c] and, although the preachers of the time were careful to distinguish between the honour paid to saints and that which belongs to God alone, some of them openly avowed that the saints and their days held in the Christian system a like place to that which had formerly been assigned to the gods of paganism and to *their* festivals.[d] The presbytery of churches was elevated by

[z] "Hunc laborem," says the great annalist of the order, "strenue excepere-runt S. P. Benedicti discipuli, eumq. posteris suis quasi testamento reliquerunt. Adeo ut quidquid apud antiquos eruditum ac scitu dignum, quidquid apud Patres pium et sapientiæ plenum, quidquid in Conciliis sanctum, quidquid in libris sacris divinum est, totum id (procul jactantiâ dictum velim) per monachorum nostrorum manus ad hæc usque tempora pervenerit." Mabill. I. lx.

[a] Mosh. i. 471-2; ii. 40; Schröckh, xvii. 481-2.

[b] Ib. 485, 502-3.

[c] Augusti, viii. 170. Krazer supposes the increase in the number of altars to have begun at Milan. 188

[d] Theodoret. Græc. Affect. Cur., Serm. 8 (t. iv. 594, 597); Mosh. ii. 51, Schröckh, xvii. 495-501.

the construction of a crypt, of which the upper part rose above the level of the nave, with a grating in front, through which was seen the tomb of the patron saint.[e] In praying to the saints, as formerly to the heathen deities, it was usual for their votaries to promise that, if they would grant the petitions addressed to them, their altars should be richly adorned, and candles should be burnt in their honour; but to threaten that otherwise the altars should be stripped and the lights extinguished. Sometimes, it is said that threats of this kind were the means of obtaining miraculous aid;[f] although, if no such effect followed, the worshippers were generally afraid to execute them. When petitions had been put up in vain to one saint, they were transferred to another.[g] In cases of difficulty, the advice of the saints was asked, sometimes by prayer, to which an answer was vouchsafed in visions; sometimes by laying a letter on the grave or altar which contained the relics of the saint, with a paper for the expected answer, which, if the saint were propitious, was given in writing, while otherwise the paper was left blank.[h]

Relics of scriptural personages continued to be found. Of this a remarkable instance occurred in the year 487, when Peter the Fuller, then patriarch of Antioch and strong in the favour of Zeno, revived the claim of jurisdiction over Cyprus which had been disallowed by the general council of Ephesus.[i] Anthimus, bishop of Constantia and metropolitan of the island, a sound catholic, was summoned to appear at Constantinople, and answer the monophysite patriarch's claims. On the eve of his departure from Cyprus, the bishop was visited in his sleep by St. Barnabas, who discovered to him the resting-place of his remains. The body of the apostle

[e] Hope on Architecture, 88.

[f] See a case in which a dead child was restored by St. Martin. Greg. Tur. de Mirac. St. Mart. iii. 8.

[g] Neand. v. 183; Rückert, ii. 196-9.

[h] Rückert, ii. 203.

[i] See p. 233.

was found accordingly, and with it a copy of St. Matthew's Gospel, written by the hand of St. Barnabas himself. Fortified by this discovery, Anthimus proceeded to Constantinople, and met the apostolical pretensions of Antioch by the miraculous proof that his own church also could boast an apostolic origin. The emperor gladly admitted the claim, and expressed great delight that his reign had been distinguished by so illustrious an event; whereupon Peter returned discomfited to Antioch, and the autocephalous independence of Cyprus was established beyond all controversy.[k]

Spurious relics were largely manufactured.[l] Lives of recent saints were composed, and were largely embellished with miraculous recitals. Saints of older date were supplied with biographies written in a like spirit of accommodation to the prevailing taste; and imaginary saints, with suitable histories, were invented.[m]

(2.) The Nestorian controversy had a very important effect in advancing the blessed Virgin to a prominence above all other saints which had been unknown in earlier times. When the title of Theotokos had been denied to her, Cyril, Proclus, and the other opponents of Nestorius, burst forth in their sermons and writings into hyperbolical flights in vindication of it, and in exaltation of the Saviour's mother.[n] In this Eutychians vied with catholics; the monophysite Peter of Antioch was the first who introduced the name of the Virgin into all the prayers of his church.[o] Churches were dedicated to her honour in greater numbers than before; thus it seems probable that the first church which bore her name at

[k] Theod. Lector, ii. 2; Baron. 485. 4, seqq.; Acta SS., Jun. 11, p. 417; Tillem. xvi. 379-80; Schröckh, xvii. 503.

[l] A Spanish canon of A.D. 592, with a view of testing, not the genuineness but the orthodoxy of relics, enacts that such as might be found in Arian places of worship should be tried by fire Hard. iii. 533.

[m] Giesel. I. ii. 427-9.

[n] Schröckh, xvii. 489-90; Augusti, iii. 35.

[o] Tillem. xvi. 376; comp. 691.

Rome was the basilica of Pope Liberius, founded by and originally styled after him, which Sixtus III. rebuilt with great splendour in the year after the council of Ephesus, and which, among the many other Roman churches of St. Mary, is distinguished by the title of Major.[p] Justinian invoked the aid of St. Mary for the prosperity of his administration;[q] Narses never ventured to fight a battle unless he had previously received some token of her approval.[r] The idea of a female mediator—performing in the higher world offices akin to those labours of mercy and intercession which befit the feminine character on earth[s]—was one which the mind of mankind was ready to receive; and, moreover, this idea of the blessed Mary was welcomed as a substitute for some which had been lost by the fall of polytheism, with its host of female deities.[t] The veneration of her, therefore, advanced rapidly, although it was not until a much later period that it reached its greatest height.

(3.) The religious use of images and pictures gained ground.[u] Figures of the blessed Virgin—in some cases throned, and with the infant Saviour in her arms—were now introduced into churches.[x] It was during this time that stories began to be current of authentic likenesses of the Saviour, painted by St. Luke or sent down from heaven;[y] and of miracles wrought by them in healing the

[p] Anastas. de Liberio—"Hic fecit basilicam nomini suo juxta macellum Liviæ" (Patrol. cxxviii. 31). Id. de Sixto—"Hic fecit basilicam S. Mariæ, quæ ab antiquis Liberii cognominabatur," etc. (ib. 225). The church of St. Mary in the Trastevere (see vol. i. p. 133) did not get its present name until later. See Gregorov i. 108-9, 180.

[q] Cod. Just. I. xxvii. 1.

[r] Evagr. iv. 24. Excess of reverence for the blessed Virgin is curiously combined with another superstition of the time, in a story that the mother of a maiden debauched by Zeno, having prayed to St. Mary for vengeance on him, had a vision of the Theotokos, who told her that the emperor's alms suspended the punishment due to his crimes. Moschus, Prat. Spirituale, 175 (Patrol. lxxiv. or Patr. Gr. lxxxvii. pt. 3).

[s] Bayle, art. *Nestorius*, note N.

[t] Beugnot, ii. 262-4; Blunt's Essays, 127.

[u] Schröckh, xvii. 503-4.

[x] Mosh. i. 472; Schröckh, xvii. 496.

[y] The first mention of such things is by Theodore the Reader (i. 1). A.D. 518. Giesel. I. ii. 430.

sick, casting out devils, procuring victory against enemies, and the like.[z] The use of images obtained more in the east than in the west.[a] Leontius, bishop of Neapolis in Cyprus, at the end of the sixth century, eloquently defends the worship (προσκύνησις) of them, in token of honour towards those whom they represent; and he speaks of miraculous images from which blood trickled.[b] On the other hand, Xenaias or Philoxenus, a bishop of the Syrian Hierapolis, who was notorious as a monophysite in the early part of the century, ejected all images out of churches.[c]

(4.) To the festivals of general observation was added in the sixth century that of the Presentation, which in the east had the name of *Hypapante*, from the meeting of the Holy Family with Symeon in the temple. The first celebration of this festival at Constantinople was in 542.[d] The Annunciation was also probably celebrated in the sixth century, as it was fully established in the next. In most countries it was kept on the 25th of March, although in Spain and in Armenia other days were chosen, in order that it might not interfere with the Lenten fast.[e] These festivals, although having the Saviour for their primary object, fell in with the prevailing tendency to exalt the mother of his humanity;[f] and hence it was that, after a time, the title of "The Presentation in the Temple" was superseded by that of

[z] Evagr. iv. 27; Gibbon, iv. 280; Neand. iii. 416-18.

[a] Ib. 416; Giesel. I. ii. 430.

[b] See the quotations from him in the second council of Nicæa, Hard. iv. 193-201.

[c] Ib. 305; Cedrenus, 353.

[d] It has been supposed that the Presentation took the place of the Lupercalia, which had been celebrated at nearly the same time of the year (on the 15th of February), and had kept their place at Rome until the papacy of Gelasius (see p. 248). Its later title, "The Purification," likewise points to a coincidence with this festival, which had also the name of *Februa*, "quia populus *februaretur*, *i.e.* lustraretur." See Martene, iii. 45; Mosh. ii. 51; Schröckh, xvii. 194, 486-7; Augusti, i. 153; iii. 84, seqq.; Smith's Dict. of Antiquities, art. *Lupercalia*.

[e] Martene, iii. 204; Mosh. ii. 52, n.; Schröckh, xvii. 485. See p. 179, n. *y*.

[f] Bingh. XX. viii 4-5; Giesel. I ii. 431.

"The Purification." The Nativity of St. John the Baptist (June 24) appears to have been also now generally observed—the more naturally because midsummer was marked by festival rites both among the Romans and among the northern nations. It is mentioned by the council of Agde, in 506, with Easter, Christmas, Epiphany, Ascension-day, and Pentecost, as belonging to the class of chief festivals, which persons whose ordinary worship was performed in "oratories" were required to celebrate in the churches of their cities or parishes.[g]

The earliest witness for the observance of Advent in the Latin Church is Maximus of Turin, in the fifth century.[h] The season was regarded as penitential; fasting was prescribed for three days in each week,[i] and the council of Lerida, in 524, enacted that no marriages should be celebrated from the beginning of Advent until after the Epiphany.[k] It would seem that at Rome the number of Sundays in Advent was five, although afterwards reduced to four; while at Milan, in Spain, and in Gaul the season extended to six weeks, beginning on the Sunday after Martinmas, from which it was styled the "Quadragesima of St. Martin." In the east also it lasted forty days, although the observance of it was less strict than in the west.[l] The fast of the Rogation days, with its litanies and processions, was instituted by Mamercus, bishop of Vienne, during a time of distress and terror among his people, occasioned by the last eruptions of the volcanoes of Auvergne,[m] about the middle of the fifth century; and the observance of it was soon adopted elsewhere, although it was not established at

[g] Can. 21.

[h] Homil. 1-4 (Patrol. lvii.).

[i] Conc. Matisc. I. A.D. 581. c. 9.

[k] C. 17.

[l] See Menard on the Gregorian Sacramentary, Patrol. lxxviii. 433-4; Martene, iii. 26-7; Augusti, iii. 177-84.

[m] Sidon. Apollin. Epp. v. 14 (Patrol. lviii.); Avitus, Hom. de Rogationibus, ib. lix. 289; Hooker, V. xli.; Quart. Rev. lxxiv. 294-7. That there had before been some less regular celebrations, see Patrol. lviii. 29.

Rome until the pontificate of Leo III., about the year 800.[n] The fasts of the four seasons, out of which has grown the observance of the Ember[o] weeks, are mentioned by Leo the Great and other writers of the time.[p] But the ordination of clergy was not as yet connected with these seasons; for although Gelasius prescribes that it shall be limited to certain times of the year, the times which he mentions do not exactly agree with the Ember weeks.[q]

(5.) In the doctrine of the sacraments no alteration is to be noted during this period. With respect to the Eucharist, however, writers and preachers became more rhetorical in their language, so that some of their expressions might, if they stood alone, imply the later doctrine of the Roman church. But that no one as yet doubted the continued subsistence of the elements in their own nature, while a higher virtue was believed to be imparted to them by the consecration, appears from other expressions which are clear and unequivocal.[r] Chrysostom, in a letter written during his exile, distinctly lays down that, while the consecrated bread is dignified with the name of "the Lord's body," yet the nature of the bread itself remains unchanged;[s] and the illustration

[n] Anastas. 189; Bingh. XXI. iii. 8. It is prescribed by the first council of Orleans (A.D 511). c. 27.

[o] Several unsatisfactory etymologies have been proposed for this word; but it seems to be related to the German *Quatember*, which is evidently derived from *quatuor tempora*.

[p] See Gratian. Dist. lxxvi. (Patrol. clxxxviii.).

[q] Ib. c. 7. See Bingh. IV. vi. 6. Gregory VII. and Urban II., in the latter part of the eleventh century, contributed to fix the Ember seasons (Grat. l. c. 3-4; Microlog. 24-7, Patrol. cli.). The present rule is expressed in these lines—

"Post Luciam, Cineres, post Sanctum Pneuma, Crucemque
Tempora dat quatuor feria quarta sequens."

St. Lucy's day being Dec. 13, and Holy Cross day Sept. 14. Schmid, Liturgik, i. 665, Passau, 1840; Herzog, iv. 336.

[r] Neand. iv. 437. See quotations from Theodoret, Gelasius, Facundus, etc., in Schröckh, xviii. 589; Neand. iii. 437-8; Giesel. I. ii. 435-6; Hagenb. i. 370, seqq.

[s] Ep. ad Cæsarium, Opera, t. iii. 742-6. The epistle does not exist complete, except in a Latin translation, although fragments of the Greek are quoted by John of Damascus.

which he draws from this, as to the union of natures in the person of the Redeemer—an illustration obviously inconsistent with the more modern teaching of Rome—was continually repeated in the course of the controversies which followed.[t]

The practice of communicating in one kind only was of so much later introduction in the church, that it would be premature to advert to it here, but for the decided language in which it was condemned by Gelasius I.:—"A division of the one and the same mystery," he declares, "cannot be made without great sacrilege." It is needless to refute, or even to characterize, the explanations which writers in the Roman interest have devised in order to evade this prohibition—by restricting the words of Gelasius to the priests alone, or by saying that, as they were directed against the Manichæans, they relate to those sectaries only, and have no application to catholics, inasmuch as these do not *abhor* the reception of the eucharistic cup.[u]

Canons were now found necessary to enforce the reception of the Lord's supper. Thus the council of Agde, held under the presidency of Cæsarius of Arles, in 506, enacted that no secular person should be accounted a Christian unless he communicated at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide.[x] The same council ordered that the people should not leave the church until after the priest's benediction;[y] and the first council of Orleans, in 511, directed that they should remain

Some Romanists have questioned its genuineness; but Tillemont (xi. 475-9), and Alexandre Noël (vii. 311) honestly avow their opinion in favour of it. Mr. Stephens thinks it doubtful (Append. to Life of Chrysost.). Comp. Schröckh, x. 475-9, and the curious history of its publication in Routh's Scriptt. Eccl. Opuscula, ii. 123-6.

[t] Neand. iii. 437.

[u] See Baron. 496. 20; Schröckh, xvii. 182, 505. There is, of course, also the device of denying the genuineness of the fragment, which is preserved by Gratian (Decret. III. ii. 12, Patrol. clxxxvii.). Thus it is printed among doubtful writings of Gelasius in M. Migne's edition. (Patrologia, lix. 141).

[x] Can. 17.

[y] C. 47

until the solemnity of the mass should be finished, after which they were to depart with a blessing.[z] The meaning of these canons appears to be, that those who did not intend to communicate were to retire after a blessing, which (as may be seen in the Mozarabic and Gallican liturgies)[a] intervened between the consecration and the administration of the sacrament;[b] so that a formal sanction was thus given to a practice which at an earlier time had provoked the denunciations of Chrysostom and other writers. In connection with this was introduced a custom of giving to non-communicants, as if by way of substitute for the eucharist, portions of the bread offered at the altar, which were blessed by the priest, and were designated by the name of *Eulogiæ*.[c]

(6.) In the penitential discipline of the western church, an important change was introduced by Leo the Great. Until his time, penance had been public, and the offence of each penitent was read aloud from a written record;[d]

[z] C. 26; Cf. Conc. Aurel. III. A.D. 534, c. 29.

[a] Patrol. lxxii., lxxxv.

[b] See Mabill. de Liturg. Gallic. l. iv. 14 (Patrol. lxxii.); Bingh. XV. iii. 29; iv. 2; Augusti, viii. 225.

[c] Bingham and Augusti, as above; Gavanti, 'Thes. Sacr. Rituum,' i. 220, 277, ed. Aug. Vindel. 1763. In earlier times this name had been applied to the eucharist itself (see I Cor. x. 16; Suicer, s. v. εὐλογία). The origin of *eulogiæ*, in the later sense of the word, does not appear to be clearly ascertained. Some (but evidently with a controversial rather than a purely historical object) would carry it up at least as high as the beginning of the fourth century. The term is used by Augustine (*e.g.*, Cont. Litt. Petil. iii. 10), and in his correspondence there is frequent mention of sending blessed loaves as a token of Christian communion (Ep. 24 fin.; 25 fin.; 31 fin.; xxxii. 3). It would seem that the "blessed bread" was given to catechumens as a substitute for the eucharist before it was so given to those who were entitled to communicate. (See Ducange, s. vv. *Eulogiæ*, *Fermentum*, *Panis Benedictus*; Burgon's Letters from Rome, 171-2, Lond. 1862; Hefele, ii. 734-6; Herzog, art. *Eulogiæ*.) In early times it had been usual for bishops to send consecrated bread to the churches of their diocese in token of communion, and *eulogiæ* had been substituted before the date of the council of Laodicea, which forbids sending τὰ ἅγια εἰς λόγον εὐλογιῶν at Easter. (Can. 14.) Suicer and Herzog, ll. cc.

[d] Marshall infers from Aug. de Symbolo ad Catechumen. i. 15, that the publication of offences was forborne where suppression seemed advisable (Penitential Discipline, 45, ed. Ang. Cath. Lib.). But the passage does not seem to prove this; and in any case it appears from Leo that there was no such custom in the Roman church

but Leo, with a view (as he professed) to removing an impediment which might deter many from repentance, declared such exposures to be unnecessary; "for," he writes, "that confession is sufficient which is made, first to God, and then also to the priest, who approaches as an intercessor for the sins of the penitent."[e] The effect of this was to abolish the ordinary performance of public penance, and to substitute for it the practice of secret confession only.[f]

## V. *Decline of Learning.*

From the middle of the fifth century learning had been on the decline in the church, and towards the end of the sixth, hardly any other than ecclesiastical literature continued to be cultivated. "Alas for our days!" exclaimed the contemporaries of Gregory of Tours, "for the study of letters hath perished from among us, neither is there one found among the nations who can set forth in records the deeds of the present time."[g] The barbarian invasions—the necessity in troubled times of directing all activity to practical purposes,[h]—the extinction of paganism, with the consequent removal of the motive by which Christian teachers had been obliged to qualify themselves for arguing with learned adversaries—the dislike and scorn with which the monkish spirit regarded heathen literature and philosophy—all combined in producing this result. Even among the works of Christian authors, all but such as were of acknowledged orthodoxy were proscribed;[i] and this also operated towards the

[e] Ep. 168.

[f] See Hooker, VI. iv. 7-8; Marshall, 104-8; Augusti, ix. 167-9.

[g] Greg. Præf.

[h] Guizot, ii. 99, 102.

[i] The first list of forbidden books was issued by a Roman council under Gelasius, A.D. 494 (or rather 496, Hefele, ii. 597) See Patrol. lix. 163, seqq.; or Gratian's Decretum, P. I. dist. xv. c. 4, ib. clxxxvii. For the arguments as to the genuineness of the text, in whole or in part, see Hefele, ii. 598, seqq. Döllinger says that it was largely interpolated between the years 500 and 800. ('Papst-Fabeln.' 55.) See also Herzog, art *Gelasius I.*

discouragement of learning. Nor did the age produce any writer whose genius could triumph over its depressing and narrowing influences. The most distinguished of those who lived in the middle or towards the end of the century—such as Cassiodore and the encyclopedic Isidore of Seville [k]—did for the most part little beyond abridging and compiling from the works of earlier authors ;[l] and the popularity of their productions had the effect of throwing the originals into the shade.

Yet in this sad time—amid corruption of doctrine and of morals, while intellect degenerated, while learning sank, and civilization was overwhelmed—not only may we believe that the gospel was secretly and gradually fulfilling its predicted work of leavening the mass in which it had been hidden,[m] but even on the very surface of things we can largely discern its effects. It humanizes barbarians, it mitigates the horrors of war and of slavery, it teaches both to conquerors and to conquered something of a new bond superior to differences of race, it controls the oppression of brutal force by revealing responsibilities beyond those of this present world. We see the church not only bearing within it the hope of immortality, but rescuing the intellectual treasures of the past from the deluge of barbarism, and conveying them safely to later generations.[n]

[k] Hallam, Hist. of Literature, i. 3. For Cassiodore, see p. 354; for Isidore, vol. iii. p. 5.

[l] Mosh. i. 429; ii. 41-4; Schröckh, xvi. 49, 54; Giesel. I. ii. 382-3.

[m] St. Matt. xiii. 33.

[n] See Rose's 'Christianity always Progressive,' 74-82.

# BOOK IV.

## FROM THE ELECTION OF GREGORY THE GREAT TO THE DEATH OF CHARLEMAGNE, A.D. 590-814.

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## CHAPTER I.

### GREGORY THE GREAT, A.D. 590-604.—COLUMBAN, A.D. 589-615.

THE end of the sixth century may be regarded as the boundary between early and mediæval church history. The scene of interest is henceforth varied; the eastern churches, oppressed by calamities and inwardly decaying, will claim but little of our attention, while it will be largely engaged by regions of the west, unnoticed or but slightly noticed in earlier times. The gospel will be seen penetrating the barbarian tribes which had overrun the western empire, bringing to them not only religious truth, but the elements of culture and refinement, adapting itself to them, moulding them, and experiencing their influence in return. As Christianity had before been affected by the ideas and by the practices of its Greek and Roman converts, so it now suffered among the barbarians, although rather from the rudeness of their manners than from any infection of their old religions.

Yet throughout the dreariest of the ages which lie before us, we may discern the gracious providence of God preserving the essentials of the truth in the midst of ignorance and corruptions, enabling men to overcome the evil by which they were surrounded, and filling the hearts of multitudes with zeal not only to extend the visible bounds of Christ's kingdom, but also to enforce the power of faith on those who were already professedly His subjects.

Gregory, the most eminent representative of the transition from the early to the middle period, was born at Rome about the year 540.[a] His family was of senatorial rank, and is said by some authorities to have belonged to the great Anician house;[b] he was great-grandson of a pope named Felix—either the third or the fourth of that name.[c] Gregory entered into civil employment, and attained the office of prætor of the city; but about the age of thirty-five[d] he abandoned the pursuit of worldly distinctions, and employed his wealth in founding seven monasteries—six of them in Sicily, and the other, which he dedicated to St. Andrew, in his family mansion on the Cœlian hill at Rome.[e] In this Roman monastery he took up his abode, and entered on a strictly ascetic life, in which he persevered notwithstanding the frequent

[a] Lau, "Gregor der Grosse," 10. Leipz., 1845.

[b] See Patrol. lxxv. 241; Ciacon. i. 401. For the Anicii, see p. 18.

[c] "Atavus meus Felix, hujus Romanæ ecclesiæ antistes." (Hom. in Evangelia, xxxviii. 15; Dialog. iv. 16.) This Felix was the *third*, according to Gregory's biographer, Paul Warnefrid (c. 1), Baronius (492. 1; 581. 4), the Bollandists (Feb. 25, p. 508), Nat. Alex. (ix. 20), and Lau (9); the *fourth*, according to John the Deacon (Vita Greg. i. 1), the Benedictine biographer, Ste. Marthe (i. 3), and Fleury (xxxiv. 35). A new argument for Felix III. is drawn by De Rossi from an epitaph in the basilica of St. Paul, on the Ostian Way. Inscriptiones, i. 371-3.

[d] For the date see Pagi, x. 363; Lau, 71.

[e] Paul. 4; Sammarth. ii. 6; Lau, 120-1. The name of St. Andrew has now been exchanged for that of the founder himself. In like manner, the monastery founded at Canterbury in honour of St. Peter and St. Paul afterwards took the name of the founder, St. Augustine; and for a list of other instances of such change, see Montalembert, ii. 560.

and severe illness which his austerities produced.[f] About the year 577, he was ordained deacon, and was appointed to exercise his office in one of the seven principal churches of the city;[g] and in 578, or the following year, he was sent by Pelagius II. as his representative to the court of Tiberius II., who had lately become sole emperor on the death of the younger Justin.[h] The most noted incident of his residence at Constantinople was a controversy with the patriarch Eutychius, who maintained the opinion of Origen, that the "spiritual body" of the saints after the resurrection would be impalpable, and more subtle than wind or air. Gregory on the contrary held, according to the doctrine which had been recommended to the western church by the authority of Augustine,[i] that, if the body were impalpable, its identity would be lost; it will, he said, be "palpable in the reality of its nature, although subtle by the effect of spiritual grace." Tiberius ordered a book in which Eutychius had maintained his opinion to be burnt; and the patriarch soon after, on his death-bed, avowed himself a convert to the opposite view, by laying hold of his attenuated arm and declaring, "I confess that in this flesh we shall all rise again."[k]

A.D. 582.

[f] Paul. 5. Ste Marthe (Vita, i. 3) and Mabillon (Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened. I., xxxix.; Annal. i. 655, seqq.; Analecta, 502, seqq.), claim him as a member of the Benedictine order; but it seems very doubtful (Pagi, x. 368; Schröckh, xvii. 245). On this depends another question—whether Augustine and his companions in the English mission were Benedictines. See Reynerius de Apostolatu Benedictinorum in Anglia (Duaci, 1626); Sammarth. iii. 6-7; Mabill. Acta SS. I. xl. seqq.; Annal. i. 274; Thomassin, I. iii. 24; Acta SS. Bolland. Mart. 12, pp. 123-4; Montalemb. iii. 422.

[g] Paul. 7; Sammarth. I. iv. 6; Lau, 25.

[h] A.D. 578. He had been associated in the empire four years before. Gibbon, iv. 253-4.

[i] Enchirid. 88-91; De Civ. Dei, xxii. 11, 20-21. See Gieseler, vi. 427; Hagenbach, i. 378. John of Ephesus represents Eutychius as having taught that "these bodies of men do not attain to the resurrection, but others are created anew, which arise in their stead." pp. 147, 149, 196.

[k] Greg. Moralia, xiv. 56. See the Life of Eutychius, cc. 89-90, Acta SS Apr. 6.

After his return to Rome,[1] Gregory was elected abbot of his monastery, and also acted as ecclesiastical secretary to Pelagius.[m] On the death of that pope, who was carried off by a plague in January 590,[n] he was chosen by the senate, the clergy, and the people to fill the vacant chair. He endeavoured by various means to escape the promotion; but the letter in which he entreated the emperor Maurice to withhold his consent[o] was opened and detained by the governor of Rome; miracles baffled his attempts to conceal himself; and notwithstanding his reluctance he was consecrated, in September 590.[p]

The position which Gregory had now attained was one from which he might well have shrunk, for other reasons than the fear ascribed to him by an ancient biographer, "lest the worldly glory which he had before cast away might creep on him under the colour of ecclesiastical government."[q] He compares his church to an "old and violently-shattered ship, admitting the waters on all sides,—its timbers rotten, shaken by daily storms, and sounding of wreck."[r] The north of Italy was overrun, and its other provinces were threatened, by the Lombards. The distant government of Constantinople, instead of protecting its Italian subjects, acted only as a hindrance to their exerting themselves for their own defence. The local authorities had neither courage to make war nor wisdom to negotiate; some of them, by their unprincipled exactions, even drove their people to espouse the interest of the enemy.[s] The inhabitants of

[1] A.D. 584. Pagi, x. 368, 585; Lau, 30, 586; Dupin, v. 102. Dean Milman thinks that he was abbot before his mission to Constantinople. i. 404.

[m] Sammarth. I. vi. 1. [n] Jaffé, 91.

[o] For the necessity of the emperor's consent, see p. 334, and Baron. 540. 10.

[p] Paul. 13; Greg. Turon. x. 1.; Pagi, x. 489; Lau, 37-40. John the Deacon thinks it necessary to enter into a formal proof that Gregory's reluctance was real (i. 45)—a vindication of the man which reflects on the age. [q] Paul. 10.

[r] Ep. i. 4. [s] Ep. v. 41.

the land had been wasted by war, famine, and disease, while the rage for celibacy had contributed to prevent the recruiting of their numbers. In many places the depopulated soil had become pestilential. The supplies of corn, which had formerly been drawn from Sicily to support the excess of population, were now rendered necessary by the general abandonment of husbandry. Rome itself had suffered from storms and inundations, in addition to the common misfortunes of the country. So great were the miseries of the time, as to produce in religious minds the conviction, which Gregory often expresses, that the end of the world was at hand.[t]

Nor was the aspect of ecclesiastical affairs more cheering. Churches and monasteries had been destroyed by the Lombards;[u] the clergy were few, and inadequate to the pastoral superintendence of their scattered flocks; among them and among the monks, the troubles of the age had produced a general decay of morals and discipline.[x] The formidable Lombards were Arians; the schism which had arisen out of the question as to the "Three Articles" continued to hold Istria and other provinces separate from Rome, and had many adherents in Gaul.[y] In Gaul, too, the church was oppressed by the extreme depravity of the princes and nobles, and by the general barbarism of the clergy as well as of the people. Spain had just been recovered from Arianism, but much was yet wanting to complete and assure the victory. In Africa, the old sect of Donatists took occasion from the prevailing confusions to lift up its head once more, and to commit aggressions on the church. The eastern patriarchates were distracted by the Nestorian and Monophysite controver-

[t] *E.g.*, Dial. iii. 38; Ep. iii. 29; Baron. 590. 22-5; 594. 9; Sammarth. II. iv. 4; Gibbon, iv. 267-8; Neand. v. 155; Lau. 60.

[u] Greg. Dial. iii. 36.

[x] Lau, 48, 111.

[y] Ib. 143. See p. 306.

sies; a patriarch of Antioch had been deprived, and the bishop of Rome had reason to look with jealousy on his brother and rival of the newer capital.

The collection of Gregory's letters, nearly eight hundred and fifty in number, exhibits a remarkable picture of his extensive and manifold activity. And it is in this that their value mainly consists; for, although questions of theology and morality are sometimes treated in them, they do not contain those elaborate discussions which are found among the correspondence of Jerome and Augustine.[z] Gregory had neither leisure nor inclination for such discussions; but his capacity for business, his wide, various, and minute supervision, his combination of tenacity and dexterity in the conduct of affairs, are truly wonderful. From treating with patriarchs, kings, or emperors on the highest concerns of church or state, he passes to direct the management of a farm, the reclaiming of a runaway nun, or the relief of a distressed petitioner in some distant dependency of his see.[a] He appears as a pope, as a virtual sovereign, as a bishop, as a landlord.[b] He takes measures for the defence of his country, for the conversion of the heathen, for the repression and reconciliation of sectaries and schismatics; he administers discipline, manages the care of vacant dioceses, arranges for the union of sees where impoverishment and depopulation rendered such a junction expedient, directs the election of bishops, and superintends the performance of their duties. He intercedes with the great men of the earth for those who suffered from the conduct of their subordinates; he

[z] Dupin (v. 104, seqq.) gives a summary of the chief points in Gregory's letters, classed under separate heads. Jaffé, in his elaborate and valuable 'Regesta,' gives an analysis of them, arranged in chronological order.

[a] Epp. viii. 8-9; ix. 114.

[b] See Gibbon, iv. 370-1; Schröckh, xvii. 278-80; Neand. v. 156. For his humane care to lessen the burdens and oppressions of his *coloni*, see Savigny in the Philological Museum, ii. 129-31 (Cambridge, 1833.)

mediates in quarrels between bishops and their clergy, or between clergy and laity; he advises as to the temporal concerns of churches, and on such subjects he writes in a spirit of disinterestedness and equity very unlike the grasping cupidity which was too commonly displayed by bishops where legacies or other property were in question. In his letters to the emperors, although the tone is humble and submissive, he steadily holds to his purpose, and opposes everything which appears to him as an encroachment on the rights of the church.[c]

Gregory lived in a simple[d] and monastic style, confining his society to monks and clergy, with whom he carried on his studies.[e] He endeavoured to provide for the education of the clergy, not indeed according to any exalted literary standard, but in such a manner as the circumstances of his time allowed. He introduced a new and more effective organization into his church.[f] He laboured for the improvement of the liturgy, and gave to the canon of the mass the form which it still retains in all essential respects.[g] He instituted a singing-school, selected music, and established the manner of chanting which derives its name from him.[h] He superintended in person the exercises of the choristers; the whip with which he threatened and admonished them was preserved for centuries as a relic.[i] The mis-

[c] Lau, 105-6.

[d] One of his epistles (ii. 32), addressed to an agent in Sicily, has been often quoted as showing both Gregory's humour and the humbleness of his establishment. "You have sent us," he writes, "one wretched horse and five good asses. I cannot ride the horse, because he is wretched; nor the good beasts because they are asses."

[e] Joh. Diac. ii. 11-12; Lau, 58.

[f] Ib. 303.

[g] See vol. iv. of his works; also Palmer's Origines, i. 111, seqq.; Guéranger, i. 162, seqq.; Lau, 244-99.

[h] Maimbourg, in Bayle, art. *Gregoire I.*, note O; Lau, 258.

[i] Joh. Diac. ii. 5-6. This writer's account of the manner in which the "Germans or Gauls" performed the Gregorian chant (ii. 7) is too curious to be omitted here, although it has been partly quoted by Gibbon: "Alpina siquidem corpora, vocum suarum tonitruis altisone perstrepentia, susceptæ modulationis dulcedinem proprie non resultant, quia bibuli gutturis barbara

conduct of persons who on account of their vocal powers had been ordained deacons had become scandalous; Gregory, with a council, attempted to remedy the evil, not by requiring a greater strictness of behaviour in the singers, but by enacting that the chanting should be performed by subdeacons, or clerks of the inferior orders.[k] He laboured diligently as a preacher, and it was believed that in the composition of his discourses he was aided by a special inspiration of the Holy Spirit, who appeared in the form of a dove whiter than snow.[l] When Rome was threatened in 595 by the Lombards under Agilulf, the pope expounded the prophecies of Ezekiel from the pulpit, until at length the pressure of distress obliged him to desist, as he found that in such circumstances his mind was too much distracted to penetrate into the mysteries of the book.[m] "Let no one blame me," he says in the last homily of the series, "if after this discourse I cease, since, as you all see, our tribulations are multiplied: on every side we are surrounded with swords, on every side we fear the imminent peril of death. Some come back to us maimed of their hands, others are reported to be prisoners or slain. I am forced to withhold my tongue from exposition, for that my soul is weary of my life."[n] In his last years, when compelled by sickness to withdraw from preaching in person, he dictated sermons which were delivered by others.[o]

The wealth of his see enabled the pope to exercise extensive charities, which were administered according to a regular scheme. On the first day of every month he distributed large quantities of provisions, and among

feritas, dum inflexionibus et repercussionibus mitem nititur edere cantilenam, naturali quodam fragore, quasi plaustra per gradus confuse sonantia, rigidas voces jactat, sicque audientium animos, quos mulcere debuerat, exasperando magis ac obstrependo conturbat."

[k] Hard. iii. 496.

[l] Paul. 28; Joh. Diac. iv. 70.

[m] Hom. in Ezech., præf. ad lib. ii.

[n] II. x. 24. [o] Joh. Diac. iv. 74.

those who were glad to share in this bounty were many of the Roman nobility, who had been reduced to utter poverty by the calamities of the time. Every day he sent alms to a number of needy persons, in all quarters of the city. When a poor man had been found dead in the street, Gregory abstained for some time from the celebration of the eucharist, as considering himself to be the cause of his death. He was in the habit of sending dishes from his own table to persons whom he knew to be in want, but too proud or too bashful to ask relief. He entertained strangers and wanderers as his guests; and his biographers tell us that on one occasion he was rewarded by a vision, in which he was informed that among the objects of his hospitality had been his guardian angel. At another time, it is related, the Saviour appeared to him by night, and said to him, "On other days thou hast relieved Me in my members, but yesterday in Myself." [p]

Gregory found himself obliged to take an active part in political affairs.[q] He desired peace, not only for its own sake, but as necessary in order to the reform and extension of the church.[r] He laboured for it against many discouragements, and notwithstanding repeated disappointments by the breach of truces which had been concluded. He took it upon himself to negotiate with the Lombards, and, although slighted and ridiculed by the court of Constantinople for his endeavours, he found his recompense in their success, and in the gratitude of the people whom he had rescued from the miseries of war.[s]

The property of the Roman see, which had come to be designated as the "patrimony of St. Peter," included estates not only in Italy and the adjacent islands, but in

[p] Joh. Diac. ii. 22-30; Lau, 303.

[q] On the government of Rome at this time, see Gregorovius, ii. 51-8.

[r] Lau, 54.

[s] Sammarth. ii. 2; iv. 1; Gibbon, iv. 274; Lau, 63-6, 138-42.

Gaul, Illyria, Dalmatia, Africa, and even Asia.[t] These estates were managed by commissioners chosen from the orders of deacons and subdeacons, or by laymen who had the title of *defensors*. Through agents of this class Gregory carried on much of the administration of his own patriarchate and of his communications with other churches; and, in addition to these, he was represented by *vicars*—bishops on whom, either for the eminence of their sees or for their personal merits, he bestowed certain prerogatives and jurisdiction, of which the pall was the distinctive badge.[u] His more especial care was limited to the "suburbicarian" provinces, and beyond these he did not venture to interfere in the internal concerns of churches.[x] By the aid of Gennadius, governor of Africa, the pope acquired a degree of authority before unknown over the church of that country.[y] In Gaul and in Spain he had vicars: his influence over the churches of these countries was undefined as to extent, and was chiefly exercised in the shape of exhortations to their sovereigns; but he succeeded in establishing by this means a closer connexion with the Frankish kingdom than that which had before existed; and by thus strengthening his interest in the west, he provided for his church a support independent of the power of Constantinople.[z]

In his dealings with the bishops of the west, he upheld the authority of St. Peter's chair as the source of all ecclesiastical privileges — the centre of jurisdiction to which, as the highest tribunal, all spiritual causes ought

[t] Baron. 591. 30; Giannone, l. IV. xi. 1; Lau, 50.

[u] See Epp. iii. 56-7; v. 11, 15, 53; vi. 34, 62, &c. The emperor's consent was necessary before the pall could be conferred on any bishops who were not his subjects. (Vigil. Ep. 6, in Patrol. lxix.; Greg. Ep. ix. 12; Giesel. I. ii. 416; Lau, 95.) On its form see n. on Ep. i. 28; De Marca, l. vi. c. 6; Lau, 54. There is an essay by Garnier on the pall. (Dissert. iii. in Lib. Diurn. —Patrol. cv.). See below, Book V. c. ix. sect. 1.

[x] Fleury, xxxv. 19; Dupin, v. 103.

[y] Lau, 103-4, 209.

[z] Ib. 89, 179; Neand. v. 162; Rettb. ii. 583. See Gregorov. ii. 23, *note*.

to be referred.[a] His agents, although belonging to the lower grades of the ministry, were virtually the chief ecclesiastical authorities within their spheres; we find that subdeacons are in this character empowered not only to admonish individual bishops, but even to convoke those of a whole province, to administer the papal rebuke to them, and to report them to the apostolical chair in case of neglect.[b] When, however, the agents exceeded their general authority, and allowed causes to be carried before them without reference to the diocesan, Gregory admonished them to respect the rights of the episcopate.[c] Yet notwithstanding this lofty conception of the authority of his see, and although he must unquestionably be reckoned among those of the popes who have most effectively contributed to the extension of the papal dominion, it would appear that in his own person Gregory was unfeignedly free from all taint of pride or assumption.

Gregory always treated the eastern patriarchs as independent. He spoke of the bishops of Alexandria and Antioch as his equals—as being, like himself, successors of St. Peter, and sharers with him in the one chair of the same founder;[d] and, although he was involved in serious differences with the bishops of the eastern capital, these differences did not arise from any claim on the Roman side, but from a supposed assumption on the part of Constantinople.[e] John, styled for his ascetic life "the Faster," was raised to the patriarchate in 585, after having struggled to escape the elevation with an appear-

[a] Neand. v. 156; Lau, 53, 96-100.

[b] Epp. xiii. 26-7; Lau, 112.

[c] Ep. xi. 37.

[d] Epp. vi. 60; vii. 40.

[e] In one of his epistles (ix. 12), when meeting a charge of having adopted some ritual novelties from Constantinople, he asks: "As for the Constantinopolitan church, who can doubt that it is *subjecta* to the apostolic see, as both the most pious emperor and our brother the bishop of that city constantly allow?" Perhaps *subjecta* may mean *inferior;* for the whole course of Gregory's dealings with Constantinople is against the idea of his having regarded the patriarch as *subject* to him.

ance of resolute humility, which Gregory at the time admired, although he afterwards came to regard it as the mask of pride.[f] In 587 a great synod of eastern bishops and senators was held at Constantinople for the trial of certain charges against Gregory, patriarch of Antioch.[g] Over this assembly John presided, in virtue of the position assigned to his see by the second and fourth general councils; and in the acts he assumed, like some of his predecessors,[h] the title of "ecumenical" (which the Latins rendered by *universal*) bishop. The meaning of this term, in Byzantine usage, was indefinite; there was certainly no intention of claiming by it a jurisdiction over the whole church;[i] but Pelagius of Rome, viewing with jealousy the power of Constantinople, and apprehensive of the additional importance which its bishops might derive from the presidency of a council assembled for so important a purpose, laid hold on the title as a pretext for disallowing the acts of the assembly, although these had been confirmed by the emperor, and forbade his envoy to communicate with John.[k]

Gregory, on succeeding Pelagius, took up the question with much earnestness. After repeated, but ineffectual, remonstrances through his apocrisiary,[l] he wrote to the patriarch himself, to the emperor Maurice, and to the empress. To Maurice he urged A.D. 594.

[f] Epp. v. 18, 44.

[g] Gregory was acquitted. The historian Evagrius, who was a lawyer of Antioch, and attended him as his counsel, gives a very high character of him (v. 6; vi. 7). On the other side, see the monophysite John of Ephesus, 213, 225.

[h] See p. 328.

[i] Thomassin de Benef. I. i. 11-16; Dupin, v. 25. Compare the preface to the acts of the second council of Nicæa, by Anastasius the librarian (Hard. iv. 20). "Cum apud Cpolim positus frequenter Græcos super hoc vocabulo reprehenderem, et fastus vel arrogantiæ redarguerem, asserebant, quod non ideo *œcumenicum*, quem multi *universalem* interpretati sunt, dicerent patriarcham, quod universi orbis teneat præsulatum; sed quod cuidam parti præsit orbis quæ a Christianis inhabitatur. Nam quod Græci *œcumenem* vocant, a Latinis non solum *orbis*, a cujus universitate *universalis* appellatur, verum etiam *habitatio* seu *locus habitabilis* nuncupatur."

[k] Greg. Epp. v. 18, 44; Joh. Diac. iv. 51.

[l] Lau, 149.

that the title assumed by the patriarch interfered with the honour of the sovereign.[m] He declared that John was drawn by his flatterers into the use of the "proud and foolish" word; that the assumption was an imitation of the devil, who exalted himself above his brother angels; that it was unlike the conduct of St. Peter, who, although the first of the apostles, was but a member of the same class with the rest; that bishops ought to learn from the calamities of the time to employ themselves better than in claiming lofty designations; that, appearing now when the end of the world was at hand, the claim was a token of Antichrist's approach. The council of Chalcedon, he said, had indeed given the title to the bishops of Rome;[n] but these had never adopted it, lest they should seem to deny the pontificate to others.[o] Gregory also wrote to Eulogius of Alexandria, and to Anastasius of Antioch, endeavouring to enlist them in his cause.[p] To allow the title to John, he said, would be to derogate from their own rights, and would be an injury to their whole order. "Ecumenical bishop" must mean sole bishop; if, therefore, the ecumenical bishop should err, the whole church would fail; and for a patriarch of Constantinople to assume the proud and superstitious name, which was an invention of the first apostate, was alarming, since among the occupants of that see there had been not only heretics, but heresiarchs. These applications were of little effect, for both the Egyptian and the Syrian patriarchs had special reasons to deprecate a rupture of the church's peace, and to avoid any step which might provoke the emperor.[q] Anastasius had been expelled from his see by the younger Justin, and had not recovered it until after an exclusion of thirteen years (A.D. 582-595), when he

[m] Ep. v. 20.

[n] That this was a mistake, see p. 328.

[o] Epp. v. 18, 20, 21; vi. 33.

[p] Epp. v. 43; vi. 60; vii. 27; ix. 78.

[q] Lau, 158.

was restored on the death of Gregory;[r] Eulogius was struggling with the difficulties of the monophysite schism: while to both of them, as being accustomed to the oriental use of language, the title of ecumenical appeared neither a novelty nor so objectionable as the Roman bishop considered it. Eulogius, however, reported that he had ceased to use it in writing to John, as Gregory had directed (*sicut jussistis*), and in his letter he addressed the bishop of Rome himself as "universal pope." "I beg," replied Gregory, "that you would not speak of *directing*, since I know who I am, and who you are. In dignity you are my brother; in character, my father. . . . . I pray your most sweet holiness to address me no more with the proud appellation of 'universal pope,' since that which is given to another beyond what reason requires is subtracted from yourself. If you style me universal pope, you deny that you are at all that which you own me to be universally. Away with words which puff up vanity and wound charity!"[s]

John of Constantinople died in 595, leaving no other property than a small wooden bedstead, a shabby woollen coverlet, and a ragged cloak,—relics which, out of reverence for the patriarch's sanctity, were removed to the

[r] Evagr. v. 5.

[s] Ep. viii. 30. Baronius, after quoting some very insufficient cases of Gregory's interference in countries beyond his own patriarchate, exclaims—"Sic vides Gregorium, cum refugit dici universalis, universalis tamen ecclesiæ curam subire!" (595. 34-5; cf. 50.) The Benedictine biographer (III. i. 16-17) says that Gregory objected to the title of *ecumenical* only as meaning *sole* bishop, and not in the sense in which later popes have used it. The truth is, however, that he objected to it in the later Roman sense rather than in that which the patriarchs of Constantinople intended. (See Dupin, v. 110; Laud against Fisher, p 198, ed. Ang. Cath. Lib.; Barrow, 282). Schröckh (xvii. 69-72) is unfair to Gregory in this as in other points. Gregory, in tacit reproof of John, styled himself "servant of God's servants"; but this title was not (as has sometimes been said) invented by him. It was as old as St. Augustine's time, was used by other bishops, and even by kings, and did not become peculiar to the popes of Rome until the eleventh century. (Ducange, s. vv. *Servus servorum Dei;* Schröckh, xvii. 78-9; Giesel. I. ii. 414.) See Gerson, 'De Modis Uniendi, etc., Ecclesiam,' who suggests that the popes of *his* time (cent. 14) might rather style themselves *Dominus dominatorum mundi* Opera, ii. 198.

imperial palace.[t] His successor, Cyriac, continued to use the obnoxious title; but Gregory persevered in his remonstrances against it, and, although he accepted the announcement of Cyriac's promotion, forbade his envoys at Constantinople to communicate with the new patriarch so long as the style of ecumenical bishop should be retained.[u]

During his residence at Constantinople, Gregory had been on terms of great intimacy with Maurice, who at that time was in a private station. But since the elevation of the one to the empire, and of the other to St. Peter's chair, many causes of disagreement had arisen. Maurice favoured John personally; he represented the question of the patriarch's title as trifling, and was deaf to Gregory's appeals on the subject.[x] He often espoused the cause of bishops or others whom Gregory wished to censure, and reminded him that the troubles of the time made it inexpedient to insist on the rigour of discipline.[y] By forbidding persons in public employment to become monks, and requiring that soldiers should not embrace the monastic life until after the expiration of their term of service, he provoked the pope to tell him that this measure might cost him his salvation, although, in fulfilment of his duty as a subject, Gregory transmitted the law to other bishops.[z] Moreover, there were differences arising out of Gregory's political conduct, which the

A.D. 593.

[t] Theoph. Simocatta, vii. 6.

[u] Epp. vii. 4, 31. The Bollandist Father de Buck infers from some words of John the Deacon (iii. 60) that Cyriac submitted in the reign of Maurice. (Acta SS., Oct 27, p. 349.) But the passage does not warrant any such inference, and the later history shows it to be mistaken.

[x] Joh. Diac. iii. 60; Lau, 106.

[y] Baron. 590. 43.

[z] Ep. iii. 65. Ste. Marthe remarks that the law was needed against those who in that age were ready to take refuge in cloisters when the state required their administrative or military services, and justifies the regulation as to soldiers by the analogy of similar canons as to slaves—soldiers being bound as truly as slaves for the term of their engagement (II. x. 3). As to the subsequent alteration of the law, see Lau, 109. Comp. De Marca, II. xi. 8-9.

exarchs and other imperial officers had represented to their master in an unfavourable light.[a] Thus the friendship of former days had been succeeded by alienation, when in 602 a revolution took place at Constantinople. The discontent of Maurice's subjects, which had been growing for years, was swelled into revolt by the belief that, for reasons of disgraceful parsimony, he had allowed twelve thousand captive soldiers to be butchered by the Avars when it was in his power to ransom them.[b] The emperor was deposed, and the crown was bestowed on a centurion named Phocas, who soon after caused Maurice and his children to be put to death with revolting cruelties, which the victims bore with unflinching firmness and with devout resignation.[c] The behaviour of Gregory on this occasion has exposed him to censures from which his apologists have in vain endeavoured to clear him. Blinded by his zeal for the church, and by his dislike of the late emperor's policy, he hailed with exultation the success of an usurper whom all agree in representing as a monster of vice and barbarity;[d] he received with honour the pictures of Phocas and his wife, placed them in a chapel of the Lateran palace, and addressed the new emperor and empress in letters of warm congratulation.[e] Encouraged by the change

July 603.

[a] See Ep. v. 40, to Maurice, A.D. 594.

[b] Theoph. Simocatta, viii. 6-7. Maurice had already been unpopular on account of the severe economy which he practised in order to remedy the profusion of his predecessor Tiberius—more especially as this general economy contrasted offensively with his excessive liberality towards his own relations. (Joh. Ephes. 357-63.) Mr. Finlay (i. 369-70) supposes that he wished to punish the troops for their late mutinous conduct, and that he did not expect the Avars to put them to death.

[c] Theophanes, 439-43; Simocatta, viii. 8-11; Joh. Diac. iv. 17-18; Gibbon, iv. 296.

[d] Baron. 603. 9; Maimbourg, in Bayle, art. *Gregoire I.*, n. H; Gibbon, iv. 299-300.

[e] Epp. xiii. 31, 39; Baron. 603. 2; Lau, 232-3; Gregorov. ii. 71. For censures on his conduct, see Bayle, art. *Gregoire I.*; Mosh. ii. 19; Gibbon, iv. 299; Milm. i. 460-3. John the Deacon (iv. 23), Baronius (603. 7), the Benedictines (Vita, IV. vii. 4-5; n. in Ep. xiii. 31), and others suggest that Gregory meant to indicate to Phocas what his conduct *ought* to be; that he did not suspect his hypocrisy or foresee his

of rulers, he now wrote again to the patriarch Cyriac, exhorting him to abandon the title which had occasioned so much contention.[f] Phocas found it convenient to favour the Roman side, and for a time the word was given up or forbidden.[g] But the next emperor, Heraclius, again used it in addressing the bishops of Constantinople; their use of it was sanctioned by the sixth and seventh general councils; and it has been retained to the present day.[h]

Gregory was zealous in his endeavours to extend the knowledge of the gospel, and to bring over separatists to the church. He laboured, and with considerable, although not complete, success, to put an end to the schism of Aquileia and Istria, which had arisen out of the controversy as to the "three articles" and the fifth general council.[i] In order to this purpose, he was

misconduct, etc. Cardinal Pitra goes to the Iliad for a justification—"S'il descend à la louange officielle envers l'assassin de Maurice, *souvenons-nous de Priam aux pieds d'Achille.*" (Hist. de S. Léger, p. xxxiii.) But M. Rohrbacher settles the question more boldly, and to his own perfect satisfaction. After quoting Gregory's letter to Phocas, "C'est ainsi," says the Abbé, "que le chef de l'Église universelle, le chef de l'univers Chrétien, juge l'empereur qui n'est plus, et admoneste celui qui le remplace!" (ix. 513). M. de Montalembert, however, notwithstanding his general admiration of Gregory, is strongly against him in this case (ii. 120-3). Gregory's frequent compliments to the Frankish queen Brunichild afford grounds for the same sort of charges with his letter to Phocas. The Benedictines and other Romanists argue that either Brunichild was not what she is said to have been, and that the crimes of Fredegund have been ascribed to her; *or* that her misdeeds must have been perpetrated after Gregory's death; *or* that Gregory knew of her good actions from herself, and had no means of knowing her evil deeds. (Vita, III. iii. 6; n. in Ep. vi. 5; Mariana, ii. 108; Montalembert, ii. 437-8.) Neander in both cases excuses him, on the ground that he could not get correct information from distant countries, but allows that he went too far in his civilities to Phocas (v. 156). Lau gives up the defence (192-3, 233-4). Mr. Hallam (Suppl. Notes, 15) and Dr. Perry (190-5) incline to think that Brunichild's infamy is partly undeserved.

[f] Ep. xiii. 40.

[g] It has been said that Phocas afterwards granted the title to Gregory's successors; but see Schröckh, xvii. 73; Planck, i. 655.

[h] Sammarth. iii. 1; Giesel. I. ii. 414. See for the later history of the title, Schröckh, xvii. 73-8.

[i] Epp. ix. 9; xii. 33, &c.; Joh. Diac. i. 47-50; Lau, 67-71, 143-8.

willing to abstain from insisting on the reception of that council: the first four councils, he said, were to be acknowledged like the four Gospels; "that which by some was called the fifth" did not impugn the council of Chalcedon, but it related to personal matters only, and did not stand on the same footing with the others.[k] By means of this view he was able to establish a reconciliation between Constantius, bishop of Milan, an adherent of the council, and Theodelinda, A.D. 593. queen of the Lombards, although the queen persisted in refusing to condemn the "three articles."[l] The influence of this princess was of great advantage to the pope, both in religious and in political affairs. According to the usual belief, she was daughter of the prince of the Bavarians, and had been trained in the catholic faith. It is said that on the death of her husband, the Lombard king Authari, her people desired her to choose another, and promised to accept him as their sovereign; and her choice fell on Agilulf, duke of Turin, who out A.D. 590. of gratitude for his elevation was disposed to show favour to her religion, and to listen to her mediation in behalf of the Romans.[m] The statement of some writers,[n] that Agilulf himself became a catholic, appears to be erroneous; but his son was baptized into the church, and in the middle of the seventh century Arianism had become extinct among the Lombards.[o]

Towards those who were not members of the church Gregory was in general tolerant. That he urged the execution of the laws against the Donatists, is an ex-

[k] Epp. iii. 16; iv. 2-4, 38-9.

[l] Baron. 593. 31 9; 594. 1, seqq.; Sammarth. II. xii. 1-3.

[m] Paul. Warnefr. De Gestis Langob. iii. 29, 34; iv. 6, 8 (Patrol. xcv.); Pagi, x. 506; Lau, 46, 61. Rettberg thinks the story fabulous, because Fredegar (c. 34) makes her a Frankish princess, and names no other husband than "Ago," *i.e.* Agilulf (ii. 180). For the famous "iron crown" of Agilulf, see the Patrol. xcv. 551-6, and Ducange, s. vv. *Corona Ferrea.*

[n] Paul. de Gestis Langob iv. 6 See Muratori, Annali, A.D. 599

[o] Schröckh, xviii. 131.

ception which the fanatical violence of the sect may serve to explain, if not even to justify.[p] He protected the Jews in the exercise of their religion,[q] and disapproved of the forcible measures by which some princes of Gaul and Spain had attempted to compel them to a profession of Christianity.[r] When a bishop of Palermo had seized and consecrated a synagogue, Gregory ordered that, as after consecration it could not be alienated from the church, the bishop should pay the value of it to the Jews.[s] On another occasion, when a convert from Judaism, having been baptized on Easter eve, had signalized his zeal by invading the synagogue of Cagliari on the following day, and placing in it his baptismal robe, with a cross and a picture of the blessed Virgin, he was censured for the proceeding, and it was ordered that the building should be restored to the rightful owners.[t] Sometimes, however, Gregory endeavoured to expedite the conversion of Jews by holding out allowances of money or diminution of rent as inducements, and by increasing the rent of those who were obstinate in their misbelief;[u] and, although he expressed a consciousness that conversion produced by such means might be hypocritical, he justified them by the consideration that the children of the converts would enjoy Christian training, and might thus become sincere believers in the gospel.[x]

Gregory endeavoured to root out the remains of pagan-

[p] Ep. iv. 34, &c.; Baron. 591. 32-7; 592. 3-4; Lau, 72.

[q] Ep. vi. 23; Schröckh, xvii. 320-3; Lau, 142.

[r] Epp. i. 47; iii. 53. Such compulsory conversions are often mentioned in the records of the time. The IVth council of Toledo (A.D. 633) enacted that Jews should not be "saved against their will," but that those who had been compelled to profess Christianity in the reign of the late king Sisebut should still be obliged to adhere to their profession. (c. 57. Cf. Isid. Hispal. Hist. Goth. 60, in Patrol. lxxxiii.) Children of Jews are to be separated from their parents, and to be Christianly trained in monasteries or elsewhere. c. 60.

[s] Ep. ix. 55.

[t] Ib. 6.

[u] *E.g.*, Epp. iv. 32; v. 8.

[x] Ep. v. 8.

ism which still existed in some parts of Italy and in the islands of Sardinia and Corsica. He wrote in reproof of landowners—some of them even bishops—who allowed their peasants to continue in heathenism, and of official persons who suffered themselves to be bribed into conniving at it.[y] Sometimes he recommended lenity as the best means of converting the pagan rustics; sometimes the imposition of taxes, or even personal chastisement.[z]

But the most memorable of Gregory's attempts for the conversion of the heathen had our own island for its scene. It is probable that many of the Britons who had become slaves to the northern invaders retained some sort of Christianity;[a] but the visible appearance of a church no longer existed among them, and the last bishops within the Saxon territory are said to have withdrawn from London and York into Wales about the year 587.[b] The zeal of religious controversy has largely affected the representations given by many writers of the subject at which we have now arrived. Those in the Roman interest have made it their object to narrow as much as possible the extent of the British Christianity, to disparage its character, and to reflect on the British clergy for their supineness and uncharitableness in neglecting to impart the knowledge of salvation to their Saxon neighbours. And while some Anglican writers have caught this tone, without sufficiently considering what abatements may fairly be made from the declamations of Gildas and from the statements of ancient authors unfriendly to the Britons; or whether, in the fierce struggles of war, and in the state of bondage which followed, it would have been even possible for these to attempt the conversion of their conquerors and oppressors—other

[y] Epp. iv. 23-6; v. 41; vi. 1, 18; Lau, 102.

[z] Epp. iv. 26; ix. 65; Lau, 242-3.

[a] Lingard, H. E. i. 89; Lappenberg, i. 63, 133.

[b] Rog. Wendover, i. 90; Ussher, Brit. Eccles. Antiq., in Works, v. 99, 100.

protestants have committed the opposite injustice of decrying the motives and putting the worst construction on the actions of those who were instrumental in the conversion which proceeded from Rome.[c]

It will be enough to allude to the familiar story of the incident which is said to have first directed Gregory's mind towards the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons—the sight of the fair-haired captives in the Roman market, and the succession of fanciful plays on words by which he declared that these *Angles* of *angelic* beauty, subjects of *Aella*, king of *Deira*, must be called from the *ire* of God, and taught to sing *Alleluiah*.[d] Animated by a desire to carry out the conversion of their countrymen, he resolved to undertake a mission to Britain, and the pope (whether Benedict or Pelagius) sanctioned the enterprise; but the people of Rome, who were warmly attached to Gregory, made such demonstrations that he was obliged to abandon it.[e] Although, however, he was thus prevented from executing the work in person, he kept it in view until, after his elevation to the papal chair, he was able to commit it to the agency of others.

Ethelbert had succeeded to the kingdom of Kent in 568, and in 593 had attained the dignity of Bretwalda, which gave him an influence over the whole of England south of the Humber.[f] About 570, as is supposed, he had married a Christian princess, Bertha, daughter of Charibert, king of Paris, and the saintly Ingoberga.[g]

[c] See Schröckh, xvi. 268; Neand. v. 15; Lappenb. i. 136. The authorities for this part of the history are collected in vol. iii. of the "Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents," by Prof. Stubbs and the late Mr. Haddan.

[d] Beda, ii. 1; Paul. 15. Mr. Soames disbelieves the story. (Ang. Sax. Ch. 32-3; Latin Ch. 13-14.) The date of this is placed by some in the early days of Gregory's monastic life (Joh. Diac. i. 22; Fleury, xxxiv. 35); by others, after his return from Constantinople (Lau, 36).

[e] Paul. 19-21.

[f] Beda, i. 25; ii. 5; Turner, Hist. Anglo-Sax. i. 328, 338; Lingard, H. E. i. 88; Lappenb. i. 127-8.

[g] Greg. Turon. iv. 26 (Patrol. lxxi.). Charibert was a grandson of Clovis. For Ingoberga, see Greg. Turon. ix. 26: R. C. Jenkins, in 'Archæologia Cantiana,' iii. 20-1.

As a condition of this marriage, the free exercise of her religion was secured for the queen, and a French bishop, named Luidhard, or Letard, accompanied her to the Kentish court.[h] It is probable that Bertha, in the course of her long union with Ethelbert, had made some attempts, at least indirectly, to influence him in favour of the gospel; perhaps, too, it may have been from her that Gregory received representations which led him to suppose that many of the Anglo-Saxons were desirous of Christian instruction, and that the Britons refused to bestow it on them.[i] In 595, during an interval of peace with the Lombards,[k] the pope despatched Augustine, provost of his own monastery, with a party of monks, to preach the gospel in England; and about the same time he desired Candidus, defensor of the papal estates in Gaul, to buy up English captive youths, and to place them in monasteries, with a view to training them for the conversion of their countrymen.[l] But the missionaries, while in the south of France, took alarm at the thought of the dangers which they were likely to incur among a barbarous and unbelieving people whose language was utterly unknown to them; and their chief returned to Rome, entreating that they might be allowed to relinquish the enterprise. Instead of assenting to this petition, however, Gregory encouraged them to go on, and furnished them with letters to various princes and bishops of Gaul, whom he requested to support them by their influence,[m] and to supply them with interpreters. In

[h] Beda, i. 25; Inett, i. 7. Some suppose Luidhard to have been bishop of Senlis (see Acta SS., Feb. 25, p. 474).

[i] See Epp. vi. 58; xi. 29; Inett, i. 8-10; Schröckh, xvi. 269; Lingard, A. S. C. i. 23.

[k] Lau, 139.

[l] Ep. vi. 7. The commission to Candidus is placed by many writers (as Thierry, i. 49, and Lau, 213) some considerable time before the mission of Augustine. But it appears from Ep. vi. 57 that Augustine and Candidus went into Gaul together. Lingard, A. S. C. i. 21.

[m] Ep. vi. 51-4, 57-9; Beda, i. 23. In his letter to Theodoric and Theodebert (vi. 58) he seems to speak as if he supposed the Saxons to be their subjects—probably by way of compliment. See Lappenb. i. 118; Thierry, i. 51.

597 Augustine, with about forty companions, landed in the Isle of Thanet. Ethelbert, on being apprised of their arrival, went to meet them; and at an interview, which was held in the open air, because he feared lest they might practise some magical arts if he ventured himself under a roof with them, he listened to their announcement of the message of salvation.[n] The king professed himself unable to abandon at once the belief of his fathers for the new doctrines, but gave the missionaries leave to take up their abode in his capital, Durovernum (Canterbury), and to preach freely among his subjects. They entered the city in procession, chanting litanies and displaying a silver cross with a picture of the Saviour. On a rising ground without the walls they found a church of the Roman-British period, dedicated to St. Martin, in which Luidhard had lately celebrated his worship;[o] and to this day the spot on which it stood, overlooking the valley of the Stour, is occupied by a little church, which, after many architectural changes, exhibits a large proportion of ancient Roman materials. There Augustine and his brethren worshipped; and by the spectacle of their devout and self-denying lives, and of the miracles which are said to have accompanied their preaching,[p] many converts were drawn to them. Ethelbert himself was baptized on Whitsunday 597, and declared his wish that his subjects should embrace the gospel, although he professed himself resolved to put no constraint on their opinions.[q]

Gregory had intended that Augustine, if he succeeded

[n] Beda, i. 25.

[o] That Luidhard was then dead, see Pagi, x. 619.

[p] See Martineau, 45, seqq.

[q] Beda, i. 26; Pagi, x. 620. The story of Ethelbert's giving up his palace at Canterbury to Augustine, and removing his own residence to Reculver (Thorn. in Twysden. 1760; Somner's Canterbury, ed. Battely, 82, and Append. xxvii.), appears to be imitated from that of Constantine's donation to Pope Sylvester, and it is not found until after the time when the forged Donation had obtained currency (See below, c. ix. init.).

in making an opening among the Saxons, should receive episcopal consecration.[r] For this purpose the missionary now repaired to Arles;[s] and from that city he sent some of his companions to Rome with a report of his successes. The pope's answer contains advice which may be understood as hinting at some known defects of Augustine's character, or as suggested by the tone of his report. He exhorts him not to be elated by his success or by the miracles which he had been enabled to perform; he must reckon that these were granted not for his own sake, but for that of the people to whom he was sent.[t] Having accomplished the object of his journey into Gaul, Augustine returned to England by Christmas 597; and Gregory was able to announce to Eulogius of Alexandria that at that festival the missionaries had baptized ten thousand persons in one day.[u]

In the summer of 601 the pope despatched a reinforcement to the English mission. The new auxiliaries —among whom were Mellitus and Justus, successively archbishops of Canterbury, and Paulinus, afterwards the apostle of Northumbria—carried with them a large supply of books, including the Gospels, with church plate, vestments, relics which were said to be those of apostles and martyrs, and the pall which was to invest Augustine with the dignity of a metropolitan.[x] Gregory had written to Ethelbert, exhorting him to destroy the heathen temples in his dominions;[y] but, on further consideration, he took a different view of the matter, and sent after Mellitus a letter for the guidance of Augustine,

[r] Beda, i. 23.

[s] That his consecration was after his first success, not (as some have thought) on his way to Britain—see Pagi, x. 619; Inett, i. 20; Lingard, A. S. C. i. 64, 368.

[t] Ep. xi. 28; Beda i. 31. (See Smith in Patrol. xcv. 316.)

[u] Ep. viii. 30; Beda, i. 27. "Ecce lingua Britanniæ quæ nil aliud noverat quam barbarum frendere, jandudum in divinis laudibus Hebræum cœpit alleluia resonare." (Greg. Moral. xxvii. 21.) This, as the editor observes, must have been added after the composition of the book.

[x] Beda, i. 29; Epp. xi. 58-63, 66, &c.

[y] Ep. xi. 66.

desiring him not to destroy the temples, but, if they were well built, to purify them with holy water, and convert them to the worship of the true God; thus, it was hoped, the people might be the more readily attracted to the new religion, if its rites were celebrated in places where they had been accustomed to worship. By a more questionable accommodation of the same sort—for which, however, the authority of Scripture was alleged—it was directed that, instead of the heathen sacrifices and of the banquets which followed them, the festivals of the saints whose relics were deposited in any church should be celebrated by making booths of boughs, slaying animals, and feasting on them with religious thankfulness.[z]

About the same time Gregory returned an elaborate set of answers to some questions which Augustine had proposed as to difficulties which had occurred or might be expected to occur to him.[a] As to the division of ecclesiastical funds, he states the Roman principle—that a fourth part should be assigned to the bishop and his household for purposes of hospitality; a fourth to the clergy; another to the poor; and the remaining quarter to the maintenance of churches. But he says that Augustine, as having been trained under the monastic rule, is to live in the society of his clergy; that it is needless to lay down any precise regulations as to the duties of hospitality and charity, where all things are held in common, and all that can be spared is to be devoted to pious and religious uses. Such of the clerks not in holy orders[b] as might wish to marry might be permitted

[z] Ep. xi.. 76; Beda, i. 30. See Inett, i. 23-25; Lau, 225; Martineau, 53; Ozanam, 159.

[a] Ep. xi. 64; Beda, i. 27.

[b] "Clerici extra sacros ordines constituti." Mr. Kemble (ii. 414) seems to suppose that by "sacros ordines" orders of *monks* are meant; but the "holy orders" were those from the diaconate upwards, as is explained with reference to Gregory's letter in the Excerptions of Egbert (No. 160, in Wilkins, i. 112, or Thorpe, 34). The subdiaconate began to be included

to do so, and a maintenance was to be allowed them. In reply to a question whether a variety of religious usages were allowable where the faith was the same—a question probably suggested by the circumstance of Luidhard's having officiated at Canterbury according to the Gallican rite,[c]—the pope's answer was in a spirit no less unlike to that of his predecessors Innocent and Leo than to that of the dominant party in the Latin church of our own day. He desired Augustine to select from the usages of any churches such "right, religious, and pious" things as might seem suitable for the new church of the English; "for," it was said, "we must not love things on account of places, but places on account of good things."[d] With respect to the degrees within which marriage was to be forbidden, Gregory, while laying down a law for the baptized, under pain of exclusion from the holy eucharist, did not insist on the separation of those who from ignorance had contracted marriages contrary to his rule: "for," he said, "the church in this time corrects some sins out of zeal, bears with some out of lenity, connives at some out of consideration, and so bears and connives as by this means often to restrain the evil which she opposes." In answer to another inquiry, Augustine was told that he must not interfere with the bishops of Gaul beyond gently hinting to them such things as might seem to require amendment; "but," it was added, "we commit to your brotherhood the care of all the British bishops, that the ignorant may be instructed, the weak may be strengthened by your counsel, the perverse may be corrected by your authority."

among the holy orders about the twelfth century. (Martene, ii. 2; Walter, 435; Augusti, xi. 224.) Beleth, in the end of that century, speaks of it as sometimes reckoned with the holy orders, and sometimes not so reckoned. (Rationale, 72; Patrol. ccii.) Durandus, a century later, says, "Sacer hodie secundum Innocentium tertium reputatur." Rat. Divin. Offic. II. viii. 1.

[c] Johnson's Canons, i. 68.

[d] Cf. Ep. ix. 12. fin. I have combined the reading of Bede, *bonis*, with that of Gregory's epistles, *nobis*.

It was Gregory's design that Augustine should make London his metropolitical see, and should have twelve bishops under him; that another metropolitan, with a like number of suffragans, should, when circumstances permitted, be established at York; and that, after the death of Augustine, the archbishops of London and York should take precedence according to the date of their consecration. But this scheme, arranged in ignorance of the political divisions which had been introduced into Britain since the withdrawal of the Romans, was never carried out. Augustine fixed himself in the Kentish capital, as London was in another kingdom; and his successors in the see of Canterbury have, although not without dispute from time to time on the part of York, continued to be primates of all England.[e]

The bishops of the ancient British church were not disposed to acknowledge the jurisdiction which Gregory had professed to confer on his emissary. In 603, Augustine, through the influence of Ethelbert, obtained a conference with some of them at a place which from him was called Augustine's Oak—probably Aust Clive, on the Severn.[f] He exhorted them to adopt the Roman usages as to certain points in which the churches differed, and proposed an appeal to the Divine judgment by way of deciding between the rival traditions. A blind Saxon was brought forward, and the Britons were unable to cure him; but when Augustine prayed that the gift of bodily light to one might be the means of illuminating the minds of many, it is said that the man forthwith received his sight. The Britons, although compelled by this miracle to acknowledge the superiority of the Ro-

[e] Beda, i. 29; Johnson, i. 74; Kemble, ii. 359. See the letter of Archbishop Ralph to Calixtus II., A.D. 1121, Wilkins, i. 398; W. Malmesb. Gesta Pont. iii. 7; Stubbs, Chron. Pontif. Eborac. ap. Twysd. 1686.

[f] Stevenson, note on Bed. ii. 2. Cf. Haddan-Stubbs, iii. 40-1. Others place it in Worcestershire. Joyce 'England's Sacred Synods,' 111.

man cause, said that they could not alter their customs without the consent of their countrymen; and a second conference was appointed, at which seven British bishops appeared, with Dinoth, abbot of the great monastery of Bangor Iscoed, in Flintshire. A hermit, whom they had consulted as to the manner in which they should act, had directed them to submit to Augustine if he were a man of God, and, on being asked how they should know this, had told them to observe whether Augustine rose up to greet them on their arrival at the place of meeting.[g] As the archbishop omitted this courtesy, the Britons concluded that he was proud and domineering; they refused to listen to his proposal that their other differences of observance should be borne with if they would comply with the Roman usages as to the time of keeping Easter, and as to the manner of administering baptism,[h] and would join with him in preaching to the English; whereupon Augustine is said to have told them in anger that, if they would not have peace with their brethren, they would have war with their enemies, and suffer death at the hands of those to whom they refused to preach the way of life.[i] In judging of this affair, we shall do well to guard against the partiality which has led many writers to cast the blame on the Romans or on the Britons exclusively. We may respect in the

[g] See Collier, i. 177, against Baronius.

[h] "Ut ministerium baptizandi, quo Deo renascimur, juxta morem sanctæ Romanæ et apostolicæ ecclesiæ compleatis." Dr. Lingard (A. S. C. i. 69, 322) and Mr. Stevenson (Eng. Ch. Historians, i. 358) render *compleatis* by "perfect," and suppose it to refer to confirmation, which at Rome was administered at the great festivals immediately after baptism. Archdeacon Churton (Early Eng. Ch. 44) and Mr. Martineau (56) understand it to relate to the question of one or three immersions. The second view seems to me the more probable (cf. Haddan-Stubbs, i. 153), although, if Augustine insisted on the Roman practice of trine immersion, it was contrary to the directions given by Gregory for Spain, where he approved the practice of the catholics in baptizing by single immersion, because the Arians had used three as symbolising their doctrine of the inferiority of the second and third Persons in the Godhead. Ep. i. 43.

[i] Beda, ii. 2.

Britons their desire to adhere to old ways and to resist foreign assumption; in the missionaries, their eagerness to establish unity in external matters with a view to the great object of spreading the gospel: but the benefits which might have been expected were lost through the arrogant demeanour of the one party, and through the narrow and stubborn jealousy of the other.[k]

Augustine is supposed to have died soon after the conference.[l] Before his death he had consecrated Justus to the bishoprick of Rochester, and Mellitus to that of London, the capital of Saberct, nephew of Ethelbert, and king of Essex;[m] he had also consecrated Laurence as his own successor, and he left to him the completion of the great monastery which he had begun to build, without the walls of Canterbury, in honour of St. Peter and St. Paul, but which in later times was known by the name of the founder himself.[n] The threat or prophecy which he had uttered at the meeting with the Britons, was supposed to be fulfilled some years after, when Ethelfrid, the pagan king of Bernicia, in-

A.D. 613? vaded their territory. In a battle at Caerleon on the Dee, Ethelfrid saw a number of unarmed men, and on inquiry was told that they were monks of Bangor who had come to pray for the success of their countrymen. "Then," he cried, "although they have no weapons, they are fighting against us;" and he

[k] As nothing is said of any discussion about the Roman supremacy, Dr. Lingard (A. S. C. i. 67, 380) infers that on that subject the Britons did not differ from the missionaries. But how could they have more effectually disowned any such supremacy than by their conduct? If, as Dr. Lingard supposes (68), the story has been embellished, the embellishment must have been in the Roman interest. A letter or speech, first published by Spelman, in which Dinoth is made to disavow the bishop of Rome (Patrol. lxx. 21), is, however, probably spurious. See Lingard, A. S. C. i. 71; Giesel. I. ii. 462; Collier, i. 179; Inett, i. 33; Martineau, 57; Haddan-Stubbs, i. 122.

[l] His death is placed by some in the same year, 603; by Baronius in 604; by others in 605; by Pagi (xi. 74), and Mabillon (Annal. i. 286), in 607; by the Bollandists (Acta SS., Mai. 26, p. 371), in 608. See Hussey, n. in Bed. ii. 3; Haddan-Stubbs, iii. 4.

[m] Inett, i. 38. [n] Beda, i. 33; ii. 4.

ordered them to be put to the sword. About twelve hundred, it is said, were slain, and only fifty escaped by flight.[o]

Amidst the pressure of his manifold occupations, and notwithstanding frequent attacks of sickness, Gregory found time for the composition of extensive works. The most voluminous of these, the 'Morals' on the book of Job, was undertaken at the suggestion of Leander, bishop of Seville, with whom he had made acquaintance at Constantinople, where the Spanish prelate was employed in soliciting the emperor to aid his convert Hermenegild.[p] It cannot be said that Gregory's qualifications for commenting on Holy Scripture were of any critical kind; he repeatedly states that (notwithstanding his residence of some years at Constantinople), he was ignorant even of Greek,[q] and the nature of his work is indicated by its title. From the circumstance that Job sometimes makes use of figurative language, he infers that in some passages the literal sense does not exist;[r] and he applies himself chiefly to explaining the typical and moral senses—often carrying to an extreme the characteristic faults of this kind of interpretation—strange wresting of the language of Scripture, and introduction of foreign matter under pretence of explaining what is written.[s] He regards Job as a type of the Saviour; the patriarch's wife, of the carnally-minded; his friends, as representing heretics; their conviction, as signifying the reconciliation of the heretics to the church.

[o] Beda, ii. 2. The genuineness of the words in which it is said that Augustine was dead long before this, has been questioned, but is now generally admitted (Soames, Ang. Sax. Ch. 46; Stevenson in loc.). Moreover, as Ethelfrid was a pagan, and beyond the limits of the Bretwalda's influence, it does not appear how Augustine could have instigated him against the Britons, if alive and desirous so to do.

[p] Ep. ad Leandr. prefixed to the book; Mariana, i. 281. See p. 321.

[q] Epp. vii. 32; xi. 74.

[r] Ep. ad Leandr. c. 3.

[s] See Milman, i. 407.

The 'Morals' were greatly admired. Marinian, bishop of Ravenna, caused them to be read in church; but Gregory desired that this might be given up, as the book, not being intended for popular use, might be to some hearers rather a hindrance than a means of spiritual advancement.[t]

The 'Pastoral Rule,' written in consequence of Gregory's having been censured by John, the predecessor of Marinian, for attempting to decline the episcopate, also contains some curious specimens of allegorical interpretation;[u] but it is marked by a spirit of practical wisdom and by an experienced knowledge of the heart. It was translated into various languages; the Anglo-Saxon version was made by king Alfred, who sent a copy of it to every bishop in his kingdom for preservation in the cathedral church.[x] In France it was adopted as a rule of episcopal conduct by reforming synods under Charlemagne and his son;[y] and some synods ordered that it should be put into the hands of bishops at their consecration.[z]

In his 'Dialogues,' addressed to Queen Theodelinda,[a] Gregory discourses with a deacon named Peter on the miracles of Italian saints. The genuineness of the work has been questioned, chiefly on account of the anile

[t] Ep. xii. 24.

[u] Such as the commentary on the disqualifications for the priesthood in Levit. xxi. 18. The *nose*, it is said, signifies *discretion*. "Parvo autem naso est, qui ad tenendam mensuram discretionis idoneus non est. . . . Nasus enim grandis et tortus est discretionis subtilitas immoderata, quæ, dum plus quam decet excreverit, actionis suæ rectitudinem ipsa confundit." i. 11.

[x] Pauli, 'König Aelfred,' 236. (Berlin, 1851.)

[y] Conc. Mogunt. ap. Hard. iv. 1008 Conc. Rem. c. 10; Conc. Turon. c. 3; Conc. Cabillon. c. 1; (all A.D. 813). Conc. Paris. A.D. 829, c. 4; Conc. Aquisgr. A.D. 836, cap. ii. 4, &c.

[z] Hincmar, t. ii. p. 389; Dupin, v. 134-5; Lau, 315.

[a] Paul. Warnefr. Hist. Langob. iv. 5 (Patrol. xcv.). In this circumstance Dean Milman sees the best apology for the legends which Gregory has stamped with his authority. "They might be, if not highly coloured, selected with less scruple, to impress the Lombard queen with the wonder-working power of the Roman clergy, and of the orthodox monks and bishops of Italy." i. 427

legends with which it is filled.[b] But the evidence of the authorship is generally admitted to be sufficient;[c] and it is to be noted to Gregory's praise that he repeatedly warns his disciple against attaching too much value to the miracles which are related with such unhesitating credulity.[d] In the fourth book, the state of the soul after death is discussed. Peter asks why it is that new revelations are now made on the subject, and is told that the time is one of twilight between the present world and that which is to come; and that consequently such revelations are now seasonable.[e] The doctrine of Purgatory is here advanced more distinctly than in any earlier writing.[f] The oriental idea of a purifying fire, through which souls must pass at the day of judgment, had been maintained by Origen;[g] but at a later time the belief in a process of cleansing between death and judgment was deduced from St. Paul's words, that "the fire shall try every man's work," and that some shall be saved "as by fire";[h] and it was supposed that by such means every one who died in the orthodox faith, however faulty his life might have been, would eventually be brought to salvation. St. Augustine earnestly combated this error, and maintained that the probation of which the apostle spoke consisted chiefly in the trials which are sent on men during the present life. He thought, however, that, for those who in the main had been servants of Christ, there might perhaps be a purging of their remaining imperfections after death;[i] and, although he was careful to state this opinion as no more than a conjecture, the great authority of his name caused it to

[b] See, for example, the story as to Theodoric, quoted above, p. 292.

[c] Dupin, v. 137-8; Schröckh, xvii. 322-5; Lau, 316-18; Bähr, ii. 448.

[d] See Neand. v. 202-3.

[e] Dial. iv. 41.

[f] Schröckh, xvii. 332-3; Lau, 508; Giesel. I. ii. 434-5; Hagenbach, i. 382.

[g] See vol. i. p. 156.

[h] I Cor. iii. 12-15.

[i] De Quæstion. Dulcitii, i. 13-14; Enchiridion, 68-9; De Civ. Dei, xxi. 26.

be soon more confidently held.[k] Gregory lays it down that, as every one departs hence, so is he presented in the judgment; yet that we must believe that for some slight transgressions there is a purgatorial fire before the judgment day.[l] In proof of this are alleged the words of our Lord in St. Matthew xii. 32, from which it is inferred, as it had already been inferred by Augustine,[m] that some sins shall be forgiven "in the world to come"; and the doctrine is confirmed by tales of visions, in which the spirits of persons suffering in purgatory had appeared, and had entreated that the eucharistic sacrifice might be offered in order to their relief.[n] A work in which religious instruction was thus combined with the attractions of romantic fiction naturally became very popular. Pope Zacharias (A.D. 741-752) rendered it into his native Greek;[o] it was translated into Anglo-Saxon under Alfred's care, by Werfrith, bishop of Worcester;[p] and among the other translations was one into Arabic.[q]

Gregory has been accused of having destroyed or mutilated the monuments of ancient Roman greatness, in order that they might not distract the attention of pilgrims,[r] and of having, from a like motive, burnt the Palatine library,[s] and endeavoured to exterminate the copies of Livy's History.[t] These stories are now re-

[k] Giesel. vi. 418-19; Hagenbach, i. 382.

[l] Dial. iv. 39.

[m] De Civ. Dei, xxi., xxiv. 2.

[n] Against the legend of Gregory's having delivered the soul of the emperor Trajan by his prayers (Joh. Diac. ii. 440), see Nat. Alex. t. v. Dissert. 1.

[o] Anastasius, 165.

[p] Pauli's Aelfred, 237.

[q] Schrockh, xvii. 335.

[r] Platina, 84-5.

[s] Joh. Sarisb. Polycraticus, ii. 26; viii. 19 (Patrol. cxcix. 461, 792). In the first of these passages the authors of the 'Art de Vérifier les Dates' (iii. 279) contend, with seeming reason, that we ought to read "reprobatæ lectionis scripta" (not "probatæ"), and to understand astrological books, which were so styled in the Digest. But in the other passage, John says distinctly: "Fertur Gregorius bibliothecam combussisse gentilem, quo divinæ paginæ gratior esset locus, et major auctoritas, et diligentia studiosior."

[t] The earliest authority for this is supposed to be St. Antoninus, archbishop of Florence in the 15th century. Bayle, art. *Gregoire I.*, n. N.

jected as fictions invented during the middle ages with a view of doing honour to his zeal;[u] but it is unquestionable that he disliked and discouraged pagan literature. In the epistle prefixed to his "Morals" he professes himself indifferent to style, and even to grammatical correctness, on the ground that the words of inspiration ought not to be tied down under the rules of Donatus.[x] And in a letter to Desiderius, bishop of Vienne, who was reported to have given lessons in "grammar," he does not confine his rebuke to the unseemliness of such employment for a member of the episcopal order, but declares that even a religious layman ought not to defile his lips with the blasphemous praises of false deities.[y] However this contempt of secular learning may be excused in Gregory himself, it is to be regretted that his authority did much to foster a contented ignorance in the ages which followed.[z]

In other respects the pope's opinions were those of his age, controlled in some measure by his practical good sense. His reverence for the authority of the church may be inferred from his repeated declarations that he regarded the first four general councils as standing on the same level with the four Gospels.[a] It has been argued from some passages in his works that he held the doctrine of transubstantiation in the eucharist;[b] but his words, although sometimes highly rhetorical, do not seem to

[u] See Bayle, notes L, M, N; Gibbon, iv. 268; Giesel. I. ii. 389; Gregorov. ii. 96-9. Schröckh's dislike of Gregory, however, inclines him to believe the tale as to the library. xvi. 59.

[x] Ad Leand. 5.

[y] Ep. xi. 54. See Bayle, note M; Neand. v. 207; Lau, 304. The Benedictines wish to suppose that Gregory did not blame the thing, but the manner. But the work from which they quote a sanction of profane learning is spurious; and the passage in the Epistle to Leander rather favours the opposite view. (Lau, 20.) Desiderius was murdered by Brunichild's contrivance in 607, and has been canonised. Vita S. Desider. ap. Bouquet, iii. 484, or Acta SS. Mai. 23.

[z] Fleury, xxxvi. 35; Giesel. I. ii. 388. The letter is cited as an authority by Atto of Vercelli in the 10th century. De Pressuris Eccles. p. ii. (Patrol. cxxxiv. 75).

[a] Epp. i. 25; iii. 10. See above, p. 383.

[b] As Dialog. iv. 58, quoted in Præf. Bened. p. 29. See Schröckh, xvii. 305; Lau, 483-4.

affirm any other than a *spiritual* presence of the Saviour's body and blood in the consecrated elements.

After what has been said of his character and history, it is hardly necessary to state that Gregory was a zealous friend to monachism. He protected the privileges and property of monastic societies against the encroachments of the bishops, and in many cases he exempted monks from episcopal jurisdiction as to the management of their affairs, although he was careful to leave the bishops undisturbed in the right of superintending their morals.[c] But, notwithstanding his love for the monastic life, he detected and denounced many of the deceits which may be compatible with asceticism; perhaps his disagreement with John "the Faster" may have aided him to see these evils the more clearly.[d] With reference to the edicts of Justinian which had sanctioned the separation of married persons in order to enter on the monastic profession, he plainly declares that such an act, although allowed by human laws, is forbidden by the law of God.[e] Nor, although he contributed to extend the obligation to celibacy among the clergy, was his zeal for the enforcement of it violent or inconsiderate; thus, in directing that the subdeacons of Sicily should in future be restrained from marriage, he revoked an order of his predecessor, by which those who had married before the introduction of the Roman rule were compelled to separate from their wives.[f]

A veneration for relics is strongly marked in Gregory's writings. It was his practice to send, in token of his especial favour, presents of keys, in which were said to be contained some filings of St. Peter's chains. These keys

[c] Epp. ii. 42; vi. 11; vii. 12; viii. 15, 34; ix. 111; Conc. Rom. A.D. 601; in Patrol. lxxvii. 1340-2; Schröckh, xvii. 301-3.

[d] Neand v. 206; Lau, 126.

[e] Ep. xi. 45 (col. 1161). See p. 345.

[f] Ep. i. 44 (col. 506). His regulations on this subject are summed up by Theiner, i. 355, seqq.

were accompanied by a prayer that that which had bound the apostle for martyrdom might loose the receiver from all his sins;[g] and to some of them miraculous histories were attached.[h] The empress Constantina—instigated, it is supposed, by John of Constantinople, with a view of bringing the pope into trouble[i]—asked him to send her the head, or some part of the body, of St. Paul, for a new church which was built in honour of the apostle. Gregory answered, that it was not the custom at Rome to handle or to dispose of the bodies of martyrs; that many persons who had presumed to touch the remains of St. Peter and St. Paul had been struck with death in consequence; that he could only send her a cloth which had been applied to the apostle's body, but that such cloths possessed the same miraculous power as the relics themselves. He added, that the practice of removing relics gave occasion to fraud, and mentioned the case of some Greek monks who, when called in question for digging up dead bodies by night at Rome, had confessed an intention of passing them off in Greece as relics of martyrs.[k]

Two of Gregory's letters are addressed to Serenus, bishop of Marseilles, who, on finding that some images were the subjects of adoration, had broken them; and these letters have a special interest from their bearing on the controversy as to images which arose somewhat more than a century later. The pope commends Serenus for his zeal, but blames him for the manner in which it had been displayed. He tells him that modesty ought to have restrained him from an action for which no bishop had given any precedent; that pictures and images serve for the instruction of those who cannot read books; and

[g] Ep. vi. 6; vii. 28, and elsewhere, with some variety of form. For the history of the apostle's chains, see Gregorov. i. 213. Cf. Acta SS. Jun. 29, pp. 410, 413.

[h] Ep. vii. 26

[i] Baron. 594. 25; 595. 29; Sammarth. II. xi. 7.

[k] Ep. iv. 30.

that for this purpose they ought to be preserved in churches, while care should be taken to guard against the worship of them.[l]

Gregory's infirmities had long been growing on him. For some years he had been seldom able to leave his bed;[m] he professed that the expectation of death was his only consolation, and requested his friends to pray for his deliverance from his sufferings.[n] On the 12th of March 604 he was released.[o]

While the conversion of the English was reserved for the zeal of Italian monks, a remarkable body of missionaries set out from the shores of Ireland. Their leader, Columban,[p] born in the province of Leinster about 560, was trained in the great Irish monastery of Bangor, which, with the houses and cells dependent on it, contained a society of three thousand monks, under the government of its founder, Comgal.[q] Columban resolved to detach himself from earthly things by leaving his country, after the example of Abraham, and in 589[r] he crossed the sea with twelve companions into Britain, and thence into Gaul. He had intended to preach the gospel to the heathen nations beyond the Frankish dominions; but the decayed state of religion and discipline offered him abundant employment in Gaul, and at the invitation of Guntram, king of Burgundy,[s] he settled in that country.[t] Declining the king's

[l] Epp. ix. 105; xi. 13. See Basnage, 1336.

[m] Ep. xi. 44.

[n] Ep. xiii. 22

[o] Lau, 299.

[p] Vita S. Columb. by Jonas, a monk of Bobbio, in Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. ii., or Patrol. lxxxvii.

[q] Jonas, 6-9; Vita II. S. Comgalli, 12 (Acta SS. Mai. 10); Bernard. Vita S. Malach. 12 (Patrol. clxxxii.); Lanigan, ii. 201. Comgal, who is said to have been abbot fifty years, is celebrated under the name of Faustus in Columban's 'Instructiones,' ii. 1 (Patrol. lxxx.). Vita I. 4, in Acta SS. Mai. 10; Henschen, ib. p. 581.

[r] The Histoire Littéraire says 585 (iii. 506). See Rettb. ii. 37.

[s] See Mabillon, Acta SS. Ben. ii. 10.

[t] Jonas, 10; Walaf. Strabo, Vita S. Galli, in Bouq. iii. 474, seqq.; Rettb. ii. 36-7.

offers of a better position, he established himself in the Vosges, where a district which in the Roman times was cultivated and populous had again become a wilderness, while abundant remains of Roman architecture and monuments of the old idolatry were left as evidence of its former prosperity. Here he successively founded three monasteries—Anegray, Luxeuil, and Fontaines. For a time the missionaries had to endure great hardships; they had often for days no other food than wild herbs and the bark of trees, until their needs were supplied by means which are described as miraculous. But by degrees the spectacle of their severe and devoted life made an impression on the people of the neighbourhood. They were looked on with reverence by men of every class, and, while their religious instructions were gladly heard, their labours in clearing and tilling the land encouraged the inhabitants to exertions of the same kind. The monasteries were speedily filled with persons attracted by the contrast which Columban's system presented to the general relaxation of piety and morals among the native monks and clergy; and children of noble birth were placed in them for education.[u]

The Rule of Columban was probably derived in great measure from the Irish Bangor.[x] The main principle of it was the inculcation of absolute obedience to superiors, the entire mortification of the individual will[y]—a principle which is dangerous, as relieving the mind from the feeling of responsibility, and as tending either to deaden the spirit, or to deceive it into pride veiled under the appearance of humility.[z] The diet of the monks was to be coarse,[a] and was to be proportioned to their labour. But Columban warned against excessive abstinence, as being "not a virtue but a vice." "Every day," it was said,

[u] Jonas, 13-19.
[x] Lanigan, ii. 267.
[y] Cc. 1, 9 (Patrol. lxxx.).
[z] Schröckh, xvii. 423; Neand. Mem. 438; Rettb. ii. 37.
[a] "Vilis et *vespertinus*," c. 3.

"there must be fasting, as every day there must be refreshment;" and every day the monks were also to pray, to work, and to read.[b] There were to be three services by day and three by night, at hours variable according to the season.[c] The monastic plainness was extended even to the sacred vessels, which were not to be of any material more costly than brass;[d] and, among other things, it is noted that Columban in some measure anticipated the later usage of the Latin church by excluding novices and other insufficiently instructed persons from the eucharistic cup.[e] To the Rule was attached a Penitential, which, instead of leaving to the abbot the same discretion in the appointment of punishments which was allowed by the Benedictine system, lays down the details with curious minuteness. Corporal chastisement is the most frequent penalty. Thus, six strokes were to be given to every one who should call anything his own; to every one who should omit to say "Amen" after the abbot's blessing, or to make the sign of the cross on his spoon or his candle; to every one who should talk at meals, or who should fail to repress a cough at the beginning of a psalm. Ten strokes were the punishment for striking the table with a knife, or for spilling beer on it. For heavier offences the number rose as high as two hundred; but in no case were more than twenty-five to be inflicted at once. Among the other penances were fasting on bread and water, psalm-singing, humble postures, and long periods of silence. Penitents were not allowed to wash their hands except on Sunday. They were obliged to kneel at prayers even on the Lord's day and in the pentecostal season.[f] Columban warned the monks against relying on externals;[g] but it may fairly be

[b] C. 3.
[c] C. 7.
[d] Fleury, xxxv. 10.
[e] "Et novi, quia indocti, et quicunque fuerint tales, ad calicem non accedant." C. 10, col. 220, D.
[f] C. 10.
[g] Instructio ii. (Patrol. lxxx. 234), Neand. v. 41-2.

questioned whether his warnings can have been powerful enough to counteract the natural tendency of a system so circumstantial and so rigid in the enforcement of formal observances.

Columban fell into disputes with his neighbours as to the time of keeping Easter, in which he followed the custom of his native country.[h] He wrote on the subject to Gregory and to Boniface (either the third or the fourth pope of that name), requesting that they would not consider his practice as a ground for breach of communion.[i] In his letters to popes, while he speaks with high respect of the Roman see, the British spirit of independence strongly appears. He exhorts Gregory to reconsider the question of the paschal cycle without deferring to the opinions of Leo or of other elder popes; "perhaps," he says, "in this case, a living dog may be better than a dead *lion*." [k] He even sets the church of Jerusalem above that of Rome: "You," he tells Boniface IV., "are almost heavenly, and Rome is the head of the churches of the world, saving the special prerogative of the place of the Lord's resurrection;" and he goes on to say that, in proportion as the dignity of the Roman bishops is great, so ought their care to be great, lest by perversity they lose it.[l] Another letter on the subject of Easter is addressed to a Gaulish synod. He entreats the bishops to let him follow the usage to which he has been accustomed, and to allow him to live peaceably, as he had already lived for twelve years, amid the solitude of the forest, and beside the bones of his seventeen deceased brethren.[m]

After a residence of about twenty years in Burgundy, Columban incurred the displeasure of king Theodoric II., by whom he had before been held in great honour.

[h] See p. 325. [i] Ep. i. 3. [k] Ep. i. 2. (Eccl. ix. 4.) [l] Ep. v 10. [m] Ep. ii.

Brunichild, the grandmother of Theodoric, according to a policy not uncommon among the queen-mothers of India in our own day, endeavoured to prolong her influence in the kingdom by encouraging the young prince in a life of indolence and sensuality.[n] Columban repeatedly, both by word and by letter, remonstrated against Theodoric's courses: he refused to bless his illegitimate children, and, with much vehemence of behaviour, rejected the hospitality of the court, making (it is said) the dishes and drinking-vessels which were set before him fly into pieces by his word.[o] The king, whom Brunichild diligently instigated against him, told him that he was not unwise enough to make him a martyr, but ordered him to be conducted to Nantes with his Irish monks, in order that they might be sent back to their own country.[p] The journey of the missionaries across France was rendered a series of triumphs by the miracles of Columban and by the popular enthusiasm in his favour.[q] On their arrival at Nantes, the vessel which was intended to convey them to Ireland was prevented by miraculous causes from performing its task;[r] and Columban, being then allowed to choose his own course, made his way to Metz, where Theodebert II. of Austrasia gave him leave to preach throughout his dominions.[s] He then ascended the Rhine into Switzerland, and laboured for a time in the neighbourhood of the lake of Zurich. At Tuggen, it is said, he found a number of the inhabitants assembled around a large vat of beer, and was told that it was intended as a sacrifice to Woden. By breathing on it, he made the vessel burst with a loud noise, so that, as his biographer tells us, "it was manifest that the devil had been hidden in it."[t] His preaching and

A.D. 610.

[n] Walaf. Strabo ap. Bouq. iii. 474.

[o] Jonas, 31-2. There is a vindication of Columban and his biographer against Velly in the Hist. Litt. xii., Avertissem. ix. seqq.

[p] Jonas, 33.

[q] Jonas, 38-46.

[r] Id. 47.

[s] Id. 51; Walaf. Strabo ap. Bouq. iii. 475.

[t] Jonas, 53; Rettb. ii. 30

miracles gained many converts, but after a time he was driven, by the hostility of the idolatrous multitude, to remove into the neighbourhood of Bregenz, on the lake of Constance, where he found circumstances favourable to the success of his work. The country had formerly been Christian; many of its inhabitants had been baptized, although they had afterwards conformed to the idolatry of the Alamanni who had overrun it; and the Alamannic law, made under Frankish influence, already provided for Christian clergy the same privileges which they enjoyed in France.[u] Columban was kindly received by a presbyter named Willimar:[x] he destroyed the idols of the people, threw them into the lake, and for a time preached with great success. But in 612 Theodebert was defeated by Theodoric, and Columban found it necessary to leave the territory which had thus fallen into the possession of his enemy.[y] He meditated a mission to the Slavons, but was diverted from the design by an angel, and crossed the Alps into Italy, where he was received with honour by Agilulf and Theodelinda, and founded a monastery at Bobbio.[z] At the request of his Lombard patrons, he wrote to Boniface IV. on the controversy of the "Three Articles."[a] His knowledge of the question was very small: he had been possessed with opinions contrary to those of the Roman bishops respecting it; and perhaps this difference of views, together with the noted impetuosity of his character,[b] might have led to serious disagree-

[u] Rettb. ii. 16-18. The like was the case as to the Bavarian law, before the conversion of Bavaria. Ibid. 218.

[x] Vit. ap. Pertz, ii. 8.

[y] Jonas, 59; Pagi, xi. 612.

[z] Jon. 56, 59-60.

[a] Ep. v. The remarkable address of this letter has often been quoted—"Pulcherrimo omnium totius Europæ ecclesiarum capiti, papæ prædulci, præcelso præsuli, pastorum pastori, reverendissimo speculatori; humillimus celsissimo, maximo, agrestis urbano, micrologus eloquentissimo, extremus primo, peregrinus indigenæ, pauperculus præpotenti (mirum dictu! nova res! rara avis!) scribere audet Bonifacio patri Palumbus."

[b] Dr. Reeves makes the general remark that "If we may judge from the biographical records which have descended to us, primitive Irish ecclesiastics, and especially the superior class, commonly known as saints, were

ments, but that the danger was prevented by Columban's death in 615.[c] In the preceding year he had refused an invitation from Clotaire II., who had become sole king of France, to return to his old abode at Luxeuil.[d]

Both Luxeuil and Bobbio became the parents of many monasteries in other quarters.[e] But the most celebrated of Columban's followers was his countryman Gall, who had been his pupil from boyhood, and had accompanied him in all his fortunes, until compelled by illness to remain behind when his master passed into Italy. Gall founded in the year 614 the famous monastery which bears his name, and is honoured as the apostle of Switzerland.[f] He died in 627.[g]

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## CHAPTER II.

### MAHOMET.—THE MONOTHELITE CONTROVERSY.

### A.D. 610-718.

Phocas, after having earned universal detestation during a reign of eight years, was dethroned and put to death in 610, by Heraclius, son of the exarch of Africa.[a] The new emperor found himself involved in a formidable war with Chosroes II., king of Persia. Chosroes had formerly been driven from his kingdom, had found a refuge within the empire, and had been restored by the arms of Maurice.[b] On receiving the announcement that Phocas had ascended the throne, he declared himself the

very impatient of contradiction, and very resentful of injury." Prolegom to Adamnan, lxxvii.

[c] Baron. 615. 15; Schröckh, xvii. 430; Neand. v. 46.

[d] Jonas, 60-1.

[e] Fleury, xxxvii. 8.

[f] For lives of St. Gall see Mabillon, Acta SS. Ben. ii., and Pertz, ii.; also Acta SS., Oct. 16; Neand. Ch. Hist. v. 45-9, and Memorials, 450; Ozanam, 120-7; Rettb. ii. 40-8.

[g] Pagi, xi. 236.

[a] N.ceph. Cpol. 4; Gibbon, iv. 301-2

[b] Theoph. Simocatta, iv. 10; v. 1 Gibbon, iv. 285-6.

avenger of his benefactor ;[c] he invaded the empire, repeatedly defeated the usurper's disorderly troops, and had advanced as far as Antioch, which fell into his hands, immediately after the elevation of Heraclius. A.D. 611. The war for which the murder of Maurice had been the pretext, did not end on the fall of his murderer. Chosroes overran Syria and Palestine; with one division of his force he conquered Egypt, and carried devastation as far as Tripoli, while A.D. 611-622. another advanced to Chalcedon, and for ten years presented to the people of Constantinople the insulting and alarming spectacle of a hostile camp on the opposite shore of the Bosphorus.[d]

Between the Avars on the European side and the Persians on the east, Heraclius was reduced to extreme distress. He had resolved to return to Africa, which had recovered much of its old prosperity, and was then the most flourishing province of the empire ;[e] but the patriarch of Constantinople obliged him to swear that he would not forsake those who had received him as their sovereign. At length, after having in vain A.D. 615. attempted to appease Chosroes by offering to become his tributary, the emperor resolved on the almost desperate enterprise of carrying the war into the enemy's country. He raised a large sum of money by loans — borrowing the plate and other wealth of churches on a promise of repayment with interest. With this money he levied an army, and, having secured the forbearance of the Avars, he boldly made his way into the heart of Persia.[f] In six brilliant campaigns he re- A.D. 622-7. covered the provinces which had been lost. Chosroes fled before him, and in 628 was deposed and

[c] Simocatta, viii. 15.

[d] Niceph. Cpol. 7 ; Gibbon, iv 302-6 ; Finlay, i. 376.

[e] Ib. 389.

[f] Theophanes, 466 ; Pagi, xi. 151 ; Art. de Vérif. iv. 351 ; Gibbon, iv. 309-10 ; Schlosser, 52-9.

put to death by his own son Siroes, who was glad to make peace with the Romans.[g]

The war had on each side been one of religion. Chosroes was aided in his attack on Jerusalem by 26,000 Jews, collected from all quarters. On the capture of the city he destroyed churches, defiled the holy places, plundered the treasures amassed from the offerings of pilgrims during three centuries, and carried off into Persia the patriarch Zacharias, with the relic which was venerated as the true cross. It is said that 90,000 Christians were slain on this occasion, and that many of these were bought by the Jews for the purpose of butchering them.[h] A great number of Christians, however, found safety by flying into Egypt, and were received with extraordinary kindness by John, patriarch of Alexandria, whose charities earned for him the title of "the Almsgiver."[i] Heraclius, in his turn, retaliated on the religion of Persia by destroying its temples (especially that at Thebarmes, the birthplace of Zoroaster), and quenching the sacred fire.[k] He restored the cross with great triumph to Jerusalem, and the event was commemorated by a new festival—the "Exaltation of the Cross."[l] And the edict of Hadrian against the Jews was renewed—forbidding them to approach within three miles of their holy city.[m]

While Chosroes was warring against the religion of the

[g] Niceph. Cpol. 14; Pagi, xi. 226-8; Gibbon, iv. 314-25; Finlay, i. 423-5.

[h] Theophan. 463 (who gives other instances of Jewish malignity, p. 457); Baron. 614. 32; Gibbon, iv. 304-5. That the story is probably exaggerated, see Schröckh, xix. 299.

[i] Vita S. Joh. Eleëmos. ap. Rosweyd, . 6 (Patrol. lxxiii.); Acta SS., Jun. 23.

[k] Niceph. Cpol. 12; Gibbon, iv. 314-16; Finlay, i. 424.

[l] Niceph. Cpol. 15; Theophan. 273, ed. Paris; Beleth, Rationale, 151 (Patrol. ccii.); Baron. 627. 23-9; Gibbon, iv. 326-7. There is, however, a difference as to this between the Greek and the Latin churches. See Pagi, xi. 238; Fleury, xxxvii. 34.

[m] Dean Milman (Hist. of Jews, iii. 237-40, and n. on Gibbon, iv. 327) questions the stories as to further punishments inflicted on the Jews for the atrocities which they had committed under cover of the Persian power.

empire, a more formidable and more lasting scourge of Christendom had arisen in Arabia.[n] The prevailing religion of that country is said to have been founded on a belief in the unity of God; but this belief was darkened and practically superseded by a worship of the heavenly bodies, of angels and of idols, of trees and rocks and stones.[o] The ancient sanctuary of the nation, the Caaba, or holy house of Mecca, contained a number of images answering to that of the days in the year.[p] Other religions also existed in Arabia. Judaism had become the faith of some tribes; orthodox Christian missionaries had made converts; and members of various sects, such as Gnostics, Manichæans, Nestorians, and Monophysites, had found in that country a refuge from the unfriendly laws of the empire.[q] Thus there were abundant materials within the reach of any one who might undertake to become the founder of a new religious system.

Mahomet was born at Mecca in 570 or the following year.[r] His temper was naturally mystical and enthusias-

[n] In addition to my usual authorities I have consulted Sale's 'Koran,' Lond. 1734; Ockley's 'History of the Saracens,' Camb. 1757; White's 'Bampton Lectures for 1784,' Lond. 1811; 'Remarks on the Character of Mahammad,' by Col. Vans Kennedy, in 'Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society,' iii. 398-448, Lond. 1823; Forster's 'Mahometanism Unveiled,' Lond. 1829; Möhler, 'Ueber das Verhältniss des Islams zum Evangelium,' in vol. i. of his Essays; Döllinger, 'Muhammeds Religion nach ihrer inneren Entwickelung und ihrem Einflusse auf das Leben der Völker,' Munich, 1838; Weil's 'Mahommed der Prophet,' Stuttg. 1843; Caussin de Perceval, 'Essai sur l'Hist. des Arabes,' Paris, 1847; Irving's 'Mahomet and his Successors,' Lond. 1850; Muir's 'Life of Mahomet,' Lond. 1858-61; Encyclopædia Britannica, 8th edition, art. on 'Mohammed,' by the Rev. J. G. Cazenove; Renan, 'Etudes d'Histoire Réligieuse,' ed. 3, Paris, 1858, Sprenger's 'Leben u. Lehre des Mohammad,' Berl. 1861-5; Stanley on 'The Eastern Church,' Lect. viii. The attempts at a more correct exhibition of the prophet's name are so various, that, so long as no one of them is generally adopted, it appears safest to follow the most unpretending manner of spelling it—a rule which I have usually observed as to other names.

[o] Sale, Introd. 14-21; Gibbon, v. 17-22; Weil, 20; Sprenger, i. 250-3. Dr. Sprenger (i. 245) seems to question the monotheistic foundation.

[p] See Koran, c. iii. pp. 47-8; Caussin de Perceval, i. 270.

[q] Sale, Introd. 22-4; Gibbon, v. 20-1.

[r] See Gibbon, v. 24, with Milman's notes; Weil, 31. M. Caussin de Perceval (i. 283), Mr. Cazenove (299) and Mr. Muir (i. 14) are for 570. Dr. Sprenger (i. 138) prefers 571.

tic ; he was subject from an early age to fits,[s] which were supposed to proceed from an influence of evil spirits ; and in the course of his mental conflicts he was often reduced to a state of melancholy depression which suggested the thought of suicide.[t] He appears to have become possessed with a ruling idea of the Divine unity, and with a vehement indignation against idolatry. Every year, according to a custom which was not uncommon among his countrymen, he withdrew to a cave in a mountain, and spent some time in religious solitude ;[u] and in his lonely musings, his mind, rendered visionary by his peculiar disease, was gradually wrought up to a belief that he was especially called by God to be an instrument for the propagation of the true faith, and was favoured with revelations from heaven.[x] The 'Koran,'[y] in which his oracles are preserved, has much in common with both the Jewish and the Christian Scriptures ; but it would seem that Mahomet was not acquainted with either the Old or the New Testament — that he rather drew his materials, more or less directly, from such sources as Talmudical legends, apocryphal Gospels, and other heretical writings, mixed with the old traditions of Syria and Arabia.[z] His own account of the work was,

[s] This, which had been treated as a calumny of Christian writers (see Schröckh, xix. 348-9), seems to be now established beyond doubt on Arabian authority. See Weil, 42-5 ; Sprenger, i. 207-10 ; iii. Vorrede, 12-14 ; Gfrörer, iii. 26-8 ; Irving, i. 61 ; Muir, i. 21. Dr. Sprenger says that the ailment was not epilepsy, because Mahomet in his fits retained his consciousness, but "hysteria muscularis," which, although common among women, is rarely found in men.

[t] Muir, ii. 71, 84.

[u] Sprenger, i. 296-9.

[x] Gibbon, v. 27 ; Sprenger, vol. i. c. 3 ; Muir, ii. 55 ; and c. 3.

[y] This word signifies "the *reading*, or rather *that which ought to be read*," and is applied either to the whole book or to any particular section of it. Sale, Introd. p. 56.

[z] White, 268 ; Kennedy, 428 ; Milman, ii. 25-6 ; Muir, ii. 185, 288, 306, 309 ; Sprenger, ii. cc. 11-12. Mr. Forster (c. viii.) exhibits a collection of parallels between the Koran and the Scriptures, many of which are very striking ; but this, of course, does not prove that Mahomet drew immediately from the Bible, and Mr. Forster himself declines to give a judgment on the question (ii. 75. See Döllinger, 30-1). Mr. Muir thinks that the prevailing exaggeration of reverence for the blessed Virgin led him to misconceive

that its contents were written from eternity on the "preserved table" which stands before the throne of God; that a copy was brought down to the lowest heaven by the angel Gabriel (whom Mahomet seems to have gradually identified with the Holy Spirit[a]), and that the sections of it were revealed according as circumstances required.[b] The charge of inconsistency between the different parts was guarded against by the convenient principle that a later revelation abrogated so much of the earlier revelations as disagreed with it.[c] By way of proof that he had not forged these oracles, which are always uttered in the name of God himself, Mahomet repeatedly insists on the contrast between his own illiteracy and the perfection of the book, both as to purity of style and as to substance; he challenges objectors to produce any work either of men or of genii which can be compared with it.[d] The portions of the Koran were noted down as they proceeded from the prophet's mouth; and after his death they were collected into one body, although without any regard to the order in which they had been delivered.[e]

The religion thus announced was styled *Islam*—a word which means submission or resignation to the will of God.[f] Its single doctrine was declared to be, that "There is no God but the true God, and Mahomet is his

the essence of Christian doctrine, and so alienated him from the faith (ii. 19-20). As to Mahomet's teachers, see Sprenger, ii. 365-7.

[a] Muir, ii. 74. 138.

[b] Koran, cc. 81, 85, 97; Sale, 64; Gibbon, v. 31-3; Muir, ii. 137; Sprenger, ii. 451-3.

[c] Ch. xvi. p. 223.

[d] Koran, c ii. p. 3; c. x. p. 170; c. xii. p. 176; c. xvi. p. 223; c. xvii. p. 236; c. xxix. p. 328; and elsewhere. Some of Mahomet's followers thought it important to maintain that he could neither write nor read. But it would seem that he could do both, although perhaps not well. Sprenger, ii. 398-402.

[e] Muir, i. Introd. 3-15; Sprenger, iii. Vorrede, 49. A translation, arranged according to the dates of the chapters, has been published by the Rev. J. M. Rodwell (Lond. 1862); comp. Muir, ii. 318-20; iii. 311-12.

[f] Sale, Introd. 70, and n. on Koran, p. 36. Mr. Deutsch says, however—"The word implies absolute submission to God's will neither in the first instance, nor exclusively, but means, on the contrary, one who strives after righteousness with his own strength." Quart. Rev., Oct. 1869, p. 349 (art *Islam*).

apostle"; but under this principle was comprehended belief in six points—(1) in God; (2) in his angels; (3) in his scriptures; (4) in his prophets; (5) in the resurrection and the day of judgment; (6) in God's absolute decree and predetermination both of good and evil. With these were combined four practical duties—(1) prayer, with its preliminary washings and lustrations; (2) alms; (3) fasting; (4) the pilgrimage to Mecca, which was said to be so essential that any one who died without performing it might as well die a Jew or a Christian.[g] Judaism and Christianity were regarded as true, although imperfect, religions. Their holy books were acknowledged, and it would seem that Mahomet's original intention was rather to connect his religion with the elder systems than to represent it as superseding them.[r] Jesus was regarded as the greatest of all former prophets, but, although his birth was represented as miraculous,[i] the belief in his Godhead was declared to be an error; he was said to be a mere man, and his death was explained away, either on the docetic principle, or by the supposition that another person suffered in his stead.[k] Mahomet asserted that he himself had been foretold in Scripture, but that the prophecies had been falsified by those who had the custody of them;[l] yet he and his followers claimed some passages of the extant Scriptures in his favour, such as the promise of the Paraclete, and the parable in which the labourers are spoken of as called at various times of the day — the final call being to the religion of Islam.[m]

[g] Sale, 71-114.

[h] Koran, c. v. p. 89 Muir, ii. 183, 291-4.

[i] Koran, c. iii. p. 40, c. 19; Muir, ii. 277-82.

[k] Koran, c. iii. p. 42-3; c. iv. pp. 80-1; c. v. pp. 92, 98; c. ix. pp. 152-3; c. xix. p. 251; c. xliii.; Gibbon, v. 29-30; Weil, 190-3. Some later Mahometan teachers come nearer than Mahomet himself to the truth on this subject. Forster, i. 366-8, 396-7; ii. 104.

[l] Koran, c. ii. pp. 6, 14, 17; c. iii. p. 46, &c. Yet see Muir's Introd. 72.

[m] Koran, c. 61; Muir, i. 16-17; Möhler, 353-5.

The conception of the Divine majesty in the Koran is sublime; the mercy of God is dwelt on in a very impressive manner. But the absence of anything like the Christian doctrine of the incarnation places an impassable gulf between the Creator and his creatures; there is no idea of redemption, of mediation, of adoption to sonship with God, of restoration to his image. The Divine omnipotence is represented as arbitrary, and as requiring an abject submission to its will.[n] The duty of loving their brethren in the faith is strongly inculcated on the disciples of Islam; but their love is not to extend beyond this brotherhood; and the broad declarations which had held forth the hope of salvation, not only to Jews and Christians, but to Sabians, and to "whoever believeth in God and in the last day, and doeth that which is right,"[o] were abrogated by later oracles, which denounced perdition against all but the followers of Islam.[p] In other respects the new religion was unquestionably a great improvement on that which Mahomet found established among his countrymen, and, while it elevated their belief above the superstitious and idolatrous system to which they had been accustomed, it benefited society by substituting a measure of justice for rude violence, and by abolishing the custom of putting female infants to death. The general tone of its morality is rather austere than (as it has sometimes been styled) licentious;[q] instead of being condemned for his sanction of polygamy, Mahomet rather deserves credit for having limited the license which had before prevailed in this respect, although he retained an extreme and practically very mischievous facility of divorce;[r] but it is one of the

[n] See Neand. v. 117-19; Giesel. I. ii. 468.

[o] Koran, c. ii. p. 8; c. v. p. 92.

[p] Ib. c. iii. p. 47; see Sale's notes, pp. 9, 47; Muir, ii. 296-8, 304; Cazenove, 307; Sprenger, iii. 35, 45.

[q] It is, however, with some astonishment that I have read Col. Kennedy's words—"Never was a purer religion propagated than his," p. 429.

[r] Caussin, i. 351; Muir, ii. 272. On the degradation of woman under the

most damning traits in his character, that he declared himself to be exempt from the restrictions which he imposed on his disciples, and that he claimed for his laxity the sanction of pretended revelations.[s]

On the merits of that enigmatical character it would be bold to give any confident opinion. The religious enmity by which it was formerly misrepresented appears to have little effect in our own time; we need rather to be on our guard against too favourable judgments, the offspring of a reaction against former prejudices, or of an affectation of novelty and paradox which in some cases appears to be not only deliberate but almost avowed. The latest and most complete evidence seems to prove that Mahomet was at first an honest enthusiast;[t] as to the more doubtful part of his career, I must confess myself unable to enter into the views of his admirers; but I will not venture to judge whether he was guilty of conscious imposture, or was blindly carried along by the intoxication of the power which he had acquired and by the lust of extending it.[u]

Mahomet had reached the age of forty before (in obedience, as he professed, to a heavenly vision) he announced himself as a prophet.[x] At first he made

Mahometan system, and its general effect on family relations, see Döllinger, 20, seqq.

[s] See the Koran, c. xxiii. pp. 348-9; Gibbon, v. 66; Hallam, M. A. i. 476-7; Forster, i. 322-9; Weil, 400. As to the effects of polygamy, see Muir, iii. 234-5. Dr. Weil gives a false colouring to Mahomet's own license by speaking of it as a confession of weakness. If Mahomet had so represented it, others would have claimed indulgence on the same plea; it was therefore necessarily founded on a pretence of superiority. The caliphs and the rich Mussulmans in general extended the prophet's privilege to themselves. See Milman, i. 487; Muir, iii. 230-7; Sprenger, i. 209.

[t] Dr. Sprenger speaks of him as combining "glowing enthusiasm with low cunning" (*gemeiner Schlauheit*), i. 313, 315. See Muir, ch. iii. and vol. iv. 312-17. Col. Kennedy strongly denies that the prophet was "an enthusiast or fanatic" (pp. 429, 445); but this denial becomes a truism when, after some definition of the word, we are told that "Fanaticism is peculiar to the Christians," p. 446.

[u] See Gibbon, v. 63-5; Schröckh, xix. 381; Milman, i. 454; Muir, iv. 318-20, 322.

[x] Koran, c. x. p. 168, c. 96; Caussin. i. 354.

proselytes slowly among his friends and near relations;[y] he then by degrees attempted to publish his opinions in a wider circle. But his pretensions were disbelieved; he and his followers were persecuted by the Koreish, the tribe which was dominant in Mecca and had possession of the Caaba; and in 622 (the year in which Heraclius made his first campaign against the Persians) he fled to Yatreb (Medina),[z] where he had already contrived to form a party, and was received as a prince and a prophet.[a] This flight (*Hegira*) is regarded as the great era in the prophet's life, and is the foundation of the Mahometan chronology.[b] Hitherto he had endeavoured to spread his doctrines by persuasion only; but now that he was possessed of force, he was charged by revelation to use it for the propagation of the faith.[c] His oracles became fierce and sanguinary.[d] From leading his little bands of followers to attack caravans of merchants, he went on, as his strength increased, to more considerable enterprises; and in 630 he gained possession of Mecca, cleansed the Caaba of its idols, erected it into the great sanctuary of Islam, and united all the tribes of Arabia under his own dominion and in the profession of his religion.[e]

A.D. 611 or 612.

[y] Weil, 49. Dr. Sprenger thinks that his first adherents were not indebted to him for their religious ideas, but were already in possession of them; that "the Islam is the offspring of the spirit of the time"; that Mahomet did no more than combine "the floating elements which had been imported or originated by others, while he polluted the system with his own immorality and perverseness of mind." i. 74, 315, &c.; cf. Caussin, i. 321-6. Against this see Muir, Introd. 239.

[z] More properly *Medinet-al-Nabi*, "City of the Prophet."

[a] Gibbon, v. 43-4; Weil, 72-3, 79, Caussin, i. 365, seqq., iii. 20; Muir, ii. 210-18; iii. 7-11; Sprenger, cc. 8-10, 14, 16.

[b] See Caussin, iii. 16-17.

[c] Sale, 48-9, 142; Koran, c. xxii., &c.

[d] Muir, iii. 307-8. "In the Koran, victories are announced, success promised, actions recounted; failure is explained, bravery applauded, cowardice or disobedience chided; military or political movements are directed; and all this as an immediate communication from the Deity." (Ib. 224.) Cf. Sprenger, iii. Vorr. 29.

[e] Sale, 114; Gibbon, v. 54-7; Weil, 218; Caussin, iii. 227-34; Muir, iv. ch. 24, 27; Sprenger, cc. 18-22.

When his power had become considerable, Mahomet sent envoys to the emperor, to the king of Persia, and to other neighbouring princes, declaring his mission as "the apostle of God," and requiring them to submit to the faith of Islam. Heraclius is said to have received the communication with respect; the Persian king contemptuously tore the letter in pieces; and Mahomet, on hearing of the act, exclaimed, "It is thus that God will tear from him his kingdom, and reject his supplications."[f]

A.D. 628.

The duty of fighting for Islam (for arms and not argument were to be the means for the conversion of all who should refuse to believe on a simple announcement of the faith[g]) was binding on all its professors, except the sick and the feeble, the lame, the blind, and the poor;[h] and, lest the believers should at any time rest satisfied with their conquests, Mahomet is said to have declared that wars for the propagation of the truth were not to cease until the coming of Antichrist.[i] The fanaticism of the warriors was urged on by the inducements of rapine and of lust; for the limit which the Koran prescribed as to the number of concubines did not apply to captives or slaves.[k] They were raised above regard for life by the conviction that they were doing God's will, by the belief

[f] Compare the Koran, c. xxx. p. 430; Sale, 53; Weil, 195, 198-9; Caussin, ii. 189; Muir, ii. 224; Sprenger, iii. 261, seqq. The interview with Heraclius was at Emesa, on his return from Persia, in 629 (Gibbon, v. 58). Chosroes II. is usually named as the king of Persia who received Mahomet's letter (ib. iv. 308); but Mr. Muir refers it to the reign of Siroes, who dethroned his father in 628, and died early in the following year (iv. 53-4). Dr. Sprenger gives a story that Chosroes tore up the prophet's letter, and ordered the governor of Yemen to send two trusty men to inquire and report about the writer. Mahomet received the commissioners courteously, invited them to embrace Islam, and appointed another interview for the following day. On their appearing, he told them that Chosroes had died in the middle of the night; and the governor of Yemen, on finding this supernatural information to be true, became a convert. iii. 264.

[g] Döllinger, 16.

[h] Koran, c. xlvii.; c. xlviii. p. 414.

[i] Muir, iv. 201.

[k] Koran, c. xxiii. p. 281; Sale, 145-6; Muir, iii. 303.

of an absolute and irresistible predestination, and by the assurance of bliss in paradise[l]—a bliss which to the sensual offered unlimited gratifications with unlimited powers of enjoyment,[m] while the martyrs and those who should die in the wars of the faith were moreover to be admitted to the transcendent and ineffable felicity of beholding the face of God at morning and at evening.[n] Thus animated, the Moslem armies went forth with an enthusiasm which nothing could check. Their immense sacrifices of life in bloody battles and in long sieges were repaired by an unfailing succession of warriors. Before the death of Mahomet, which took place at Medina in 632,[o] Kaled, "the Sword of God,"[p] had carried his arms into Syria. The energy of Heraclius was consumed by disease;[q] Syria and Egypt, which he had reconquered from Chosroes, were again wrested from the empire by the new enemy.[r] In 637 Jerusalem fell into the hands of the caliph[s] Omar, who built a mosque on the site of the temple;[t] and within a few years Persia, Khorasan, and part of Asia Minor were subdued. The internal quarrels of the prophet's followers suspended the progress of conquest only for a time. For years they threatened

[l] Sale, 103, 133-7; Gibbon, v. 48-9; Wachsmuth, Allgem. Culturgeschichte, i. 517; Maurice on the Religions of the World, ed. 2, p. 23.

[m] Koran, c. xxxvii. p. 367; c. xliv. p. 403; c. lv. p. 433; c. lvi. pp. 434-5; Gibbon, v. 39-40; Muir, ii. 141-2.

[n] Sale, 100.

[o] Gibbon, v. 61-3; Weil, 331.

[p] Theophanes, 278. ed. Paris.

[q] Cedrenus, 430. Mr. Finlay (i. 431) shows that Gibbon is mistaken in supposing the emperor to have given himself up to wilful indolence.

[r] The charge against Omar, of ordering the Alexandrian library to be burnt, appears to be now re-established. See Matter, 'Ecoles d'Alexandrie,' i. 134-44; Milman, n. on Gibbon, v. 136-8; Churton in Pearson's Vindic. Ignat. 293.

[s] This word means *successor* (of the prophet).

[t] Ockley, i. 229; Gibbon, v. 123-4; Milman, ii. 41. I do not venture any opinion as to the truth of Mr. Fergusson's theory, which identifies what is popularly styled the Mosque of Omar with the church built by Constantine over the Holy Sepulchre (see vol. i. p. 267). This building is called by Mahometans "The Dome of the Rock," while they give the name of Omar to a small mosque at the south-east corner of the site of the Temple. Fergusson, in Smith's Bibl. Dictionary, art. "Jerusalem"; and 'Defence against the *Edinburgh Review*,' Lond. 1860.

Constantinople itself, although their attempts were unsuc-
A.D. 668-677. cessful, and ended in the caliph's submitting to tribute;[u] and before the end of the century they took Carthage and became masters of the African provinces (A.D. 698).[x]

The progress of the Mahometan arms was favoured by the exhaustion of the empire and of Persia in the course of their recent wars.[y] In Syria and Egypt the greater part of the inhabitants were Nestorians or Monophysites, depressed by the imperial laws, and ready to welcome the enemies of the Byzantine court as deliverers.[z] And the conquerors, although indifferent to the distinctions of Christian parties for their own sake, were glad to encourage and to profit by this feeling. While they drove out the Greek orthodox from Egypt, and kept down the Melchites, they favoured the sects which were opposed to Rome and to Constantinople.[a] While war was waged without mercy against idolaters,[b] the "people of the book"—Jews and Christians—as professors of true, although defective, religions, were allowed to live as tributaries in the conquered lands.[c] But the oppressions to which they were subjected,[d] the advantages offered to converts, and perhaps the perplexity of controversies as to Christian doctrine, drew many away from the gospel to profess the faith of Islam.[e]

About the same time when Mahomet began his public

[u] Niceph. Cpol. 22; Gibbon, v. 174.

[x] Ib. 142, 150.

[y] Sale, 37; Gibbon, iv. 308; v. 89.

[z] Schröckh, xx. 382-3; Gibbon, v. 132; Finlay, i. 382, 466, 487.

[a] Fleury, xxxviii. 55; Neand. v. 122; Ockley, i. 309-10; Gfrörer, ii. 36.

[b] See the Koran, c. ix.—the last-revealed chapter. But Christians are in it charged with idolatry, inasmuch as "they take their priests and monks [*i.e.* saints] for Gods, and Christ, the son of Mary, although they are commanded to worship one God." Pp. 152-3; Muir, iv. 211-12.

[c] Koran, c. ix. p. 152. The feeling towards Christians, however, afterwards became more bitter. (Döllinger, 14.) As to Mahomet's relations with the Jews, see Muir, iii. 32-8, 288-94

[d] See the capitulation of Jerusalem, in Milman, i. 482-3.

[e] Gibbon, v. 31, 172; Schröckh, xix. 370; Giese—I. ii. 469-70; Milman, i. 485

career, a controversy arose which continued for nearly a century to agitate the church.

Sergius, patriarch of Constantinople, who is said to have been a Syrian, and connected by family with the Jacobite sect,[f] had met with a letter ascribed to his predecessor Mennas,[g] in which the Saviour was said to have "one will, and one life-giving operation."[h] Struck with the expression, he consulted Theodore, bishop of Pharan in Arabia, a man of whom nothing is known except in connexion with this controversy, but who, from the reference thus made to him, may be supposed to have enjoyed an eminent character for learning, and to have been as yet unsuspected of any error in doctrine;[i] and as Theodore approved the words, the patriarch adopted them, and had some correspondence with other persons on the subject.[k] The doctrine thus started, which was afterwards known as *Monothelism*,[l] is summed up in some words from another of Theodore's writings—that "in the incarnation of our Saviour there is but one operation, whereof the framer and author is God the Word; and of this the manhood is the instrument, so that, whatsoever may be said of Him, whether as God or as man, it is all the operation of the Godhead of the Word."[m] In opposition to this, it was contended that the faculty of willing is inherent in each of our Lord's natures, although, as his person is one, the two wills act in the same direction—the human will being exercised in accordance with the Divine.[n]

About A.D. 616.

[f] Theophan. 274, ed. Paris. But Walch (ix. 83, 101) questions this.

[g] For Mennas, see above, pp. 297, aeqq.

[h] The VIth General Council condemned the letter as spurious, and it was there proved to be wrongly attached to the acts of the Vth general council. (Hard. iii. 1067-70, 1312, 1365.) Walch, however, thinks that it may have really been the work of Mennas. ix. 97, 100.

[i] Walch, ix. 151; Neander, v. 250.

[k] Walch, ix. 93-4, 98.

[l] *I.e.* maintaining of a single will only. The name *monothelete* or *monothelite* first appears in John of Damascus (*e.g.*, De Hæresibus, 99). Giesel. I. ii. 477.

[m] Hard. iii. 763.

[n] Dorner, ii. 259-60.

Heraclius, in the course of his Persian wars, saw cause to regret the policy by which the Nestorians had been alienated from the empire,[o] and to desire that the evils which were likely to result from the schism of the monophysites might be averted. With a view to a reconciliation, he conferred with some of their leaders—as Paul, the chief of the party in Armenia, and Athanasius, the Jacobite patriarch of Antioch, to whom it is said that he offered the catholic throne of that city on condition of accepting the council of Chalcedon. The monophysites had gradually become less averse from the substance of that council's doctrine;[p] and Heraclius was led to hope that the schism might be healed if the catholics would grant that, although our Lord had two natures, yet He had only one will and operation.[q] When in Lazica, in the year 626, the emperor related the course of his negotiations to Cyrus, bishop of Phasis, who, as the question was new to him, wrote to ask the opinion of Sergius. He was told by the patriarch in reply that the church had pronounced no decision on the point; that Cyril of Alexandria and other approved fathers had spoken of "one life-giving operation of Christ, our very God;" that Mennas had used similar expressions; that he was mistaken in supposing Leo the Great to have taught two operations, and that Sergius was not aware of any other authority for so speaking.[r] Cyrus was convinced by this letter. Through the emperor's favour, he was soon after promoted to the patriarchate of Alexandria, and in 633 he effected the reunion of the Theodosians, a monophysite sect, with the church, by means of a compromise which was embodied in nine

A.D. 622.

A.D. 630.

[o] See pp. 204, 316.

[p] See p. 271.

[q] Theophanes, 506; Cedrenus, 420. There are difficulties as to the interviews with Paul and Athanasius. See Pagi, xi. 219, 243-5, who questions the story of Athanasius; Walch, ix. 75-80, 90, 104, 109, 151; Combefis, Auctarium, iii. 17-19; Clinton, ii. 171; Hefele, iii. 113, 119, 124-5.

[r] Hard. iii. 1309. 1337.

articles.[s] In the seventh of these it was said that our Lord "wrought the acts appertaining both to God and to man by one *theandric (i.e.* divinely-human) operation" —an expression for which the authority of the writings ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite was alleged.[t] The monophysites regarded the terms of union as matter of triumph. "It is not we," they said, "who have gone over to the council of Chalcedon; it is the council that has come over to us."[u]

Sophronius, a learned monk, who was then at Alexandria, was greatly alarmed at seeing the articles. He uttered a loud cry, threw himself at the patriarch's feet, and, with a profusion of tears, implored him, by the Saviour's passion, not to sanction such Apollinarian doctrines.[x] Cyrus proposed to refer the matter to Sergius, and the monk, furnished with a letter to the patriarch of Constantinople, proceeded to the imperial city. Although himself a monothelite, Sergius did not consider agreement in his opinion necessary as a condition of orthodoxy. In conversation with Sophronius, he dwelt on the importance of regaining the monophysites throughout the Egyptian patriarchate; he asked the monk to produce any express authority for speaking of *two* operations in Christ; and, as Sophronius could not do this,[y] the patriarch obtained from him a promise to let the question rest. Sergius then wrote to Cyrus, desiring him to forbid all discussion on the subject, lest the late union of parties should be endangered.[z]

[s] Hard. iii. 1340-4.

[t] See Dorner, ii. 200-4, 235. The catholics did not object to the term *theandric*, but to the statement that the operation was *single*. (Pagi, xi. 273-4.) In the passage of Dionysius (Ep. 4, Opera, ii. 75, ed. Corderius, Antwerp, 1634), they read "*a new* theandric operation"—καινὴν (instead of μίαν) τινα τὴν θεανδρικὴν ἐνέργειαν ἡμῖν πεπολιτευμένος. But although this reading was correct, the singular number and the epithet "new" were in favour of the monothelites. Dorner, ii. 208.

[u] Theophan. 274-5, ed. Paris.

[x] Maximus ap. Baron. xi. 647.

[y] It is said that Sophronius afterwards, in a work which is now lost, produced six hundred passages from the fathers in favour of his doctrine. Hefele, iii. 132.

[z] Serg. ad. Honor. ap. Hard. iii. 1316.

In the following year, Sophronius became patriarch of Jerusalem. He seems to have felt that he was thus released from his promise—that the silence which might have been proper in a humble monk would be treachery to the faith in the occupant of a patriarchal throne.[a] On hearing of his elevation, Sergius took the alarm, and without waiting for the formal announcement of it, wrote to Honorius of Rome, detailing the previous history of the question.[b] The pope, in his answer, echoed the opinions of his correspondent; he not only agreed with him as to the expediency of enforcing silence, but in a personal profession of monothelism :—"We confess," he says, "one will of our Lord Jesus Christ, forasmuch as it is evident that that which was assumed by the Godhead was our nature, not the sin which is in it—our nature as it was created before sin, not as it was corrupted by transgression."[c] After discussing St. Paul's words as to the will of the flesh and the will of the mind, he concludes that the Saviour had not the fleshly will; and he spoke of the question of two operations as a trifle fit only for grammarians.[d] Sophronius in his enthronistic letter set forth very fully, and with great ability, the doctrine of the incarnation, with special reference to the controversy which had arisen.[e] He admits the word *theandric*, but applies it to the joint action of both natures in the Divinely-human Person—an application different from that in which it had been used by Sergius and his partisans.[f] Honorius obtained from the envoys

A.D. 634.

[a] Neand. v. 247.

[b] Hard. iii. 1312-17.

[c] Ib. 1320. The answer is obvious—that, as a part of the sinless nature, He took the innocent human will, and had this jointly with the divine will. See Dorner, ii. 232.

[d] Baronius boldly attempts to justify Honorius (633. 32, seqq.). Pagi gives up the pope's language and conduct, but maintains his personal orthodoxy, xi. 285-98, 390-2. See Combefis, 33-6; Walch, ix. 125-6; Schröckh, xx. 402; Döllinger, i. 157; Hefele, iii. 137.

[e] Hard. iii. 1257-96; Hefele, iii. 139. The extant works of Sophronius are in vol. lxxxvii. pt. 3, of the Patrol. Gr.

[f] Hard. iii. 1280 B. See Dorner, ii. 214

who conveyed this letter to Rome a promise that their master would give up speaking of two wills, if Cyrus would cease to speak of one will;[g] but the controversy was not to be so easily appeased.

The siege and capture of Jerusalem by the Arabs may be supposed to have soon after engrossed the attention of Sophronius; and he did not long survive.[h] A.D. 637. But before his death he led Stephen, bishop of Dor, the first of his suffragans, to Calvary, and there in the most solemn manner charged him, by the thoughts of the crucifixion and of the last judgment, to repair to Rome, and never to rest until he should have obtained a condemnation of the monothelistic doctrine.[i]

The distractions of the church continued, and in 639 Heraclius, unwarned by the ill success of his predecessors in such measures, put forth, at the suggestion of Sergius, an edict composed by the patriarch, which bore the title of *Ecthesis*, or Exposition of the faith.[k] After stating the doctrines of the Trinity and of the incarnation, this edict proceeded to settle the controversy by forbidding the discussion of the question as to one or two operations. All operation suitable either to God or to man (it was said) proceeds from the same one incarnate Word. To speak of a single operation, although the phrase had been used by certain fathers, caused trouble to *some;* to speak of two operations was an expression unsupported by any authority of approved teachers, and gave offence to *many*, as suggesting the idea of two opposite wills. The impious Nestorius himself, although he divided the person of the Saviour, had not spoken of two wills; one will was to be confessed, agreeably to the doctrine of the holy fathers, forasmuch as the Saviour's manhood never produced any motion contrary

[g] Honor. Ep. 5 (Patrol. lxxx.); Hefele, iii. 147.
[h] Theophan. 520; Pagi, xi. 314; Clinton, ii. 175.
[i] Hard. iii. 713.
[k] Walch, ix. 139-41.

to the inclination of his Godhead.[l] Even if the Ecthesis had not in its substance been thus evidently partial to the monothelites, no satisfactory result could have been reasonably expected from a document which aimed at putting an end to differences by concealing them, or from a policy which, in silencing both parties, was galling to the more zealous, while it necessarily favoured the more subservient.

The Ecthesis was approved by councils at Constantinople under Sergius and his successor Pyrrhus, and at Alexandria under Cyrus.[m] The patriarchates of Antioch and Jerusalem, suffering under the oppression of the Arabs, were in no condition to oppose it. But Honorius of Rome was dead; his successor, Severinus (whose pontificate lasted only two months, and was chiefly remarkable for the plunder of the papal treasures by the exarch of Ravenna[n]), appears to have rejected the new formulary;[o] and the next pope, John IV., with a council, certainly did so. Heraclius hereupon wrote to John, disowning the authorship of the Ecthesis; it had, he said, been drawn up by Sergius some years before, and he had only consented to issue it at the patriarch's urgent entreaty.[p]

A.D. 640.

Heraclius died in February 641, leaving the empire jointly to Constantine, son of his first marriage, and Heracleonas, the offspring of his second marriage with his niece Martina.[q] Constantine survived his father little more than three months, and Martina then attempted to rule in the name of her son; but the senate, backed by the army and by the inhabitants of the

[l] Hard. iii. 796.

[m] Ib. 798-804; Pagi, xi. 336.

[n] Anastas. in Patrol. cxxviii. 709. He was chosen in 638, although not confirmed until 640, in which year he was consecrated on May 28th, and died on Aug. 1st. Cenni, ib. 715.

[o] See Walch, xi. 145-8; Hefele, iii. 159.

[p] Maximus, ap. Baron. xi. 640-9; Walch, ix. 199.

[q] Niceph. Cpol. 10, 18. The incestuous union is placed in 613 by Baronius (613. 3). See Pagi, xi. 119.

capital, deposed her and Heracleonas, as guilty of the death of Constantine, whose son, Constans II., was then set on the throne.[r] On this revolution, the patriarch Pyrrhus, who was regarded as an accomplice of Martina, thought it expedient to abandon his dignity, and sought a refuge in Africa.[s] There he met with Maximus, a man of noble Byzantine family, who, after having been a secretary of state under Heraclius, had embraced the monastic profession, and became the ablest controversialist in opposition to monothelism.[t] In 645, a disputation was held between the two, in the presence of Gregory, governor of the province, with many bishops and other eminent persons.[u] Pyrrhus started with the proposition that, as the Saviour's person is one, He could have but one will; to which Maximus replied that, as He is both God and man, each of His natures must have its own proper will. The discussion was long, and was carried on with much acuteness; but, in addition to the superiority of his cause, Maximus had evidently the advantage in ability and in dialectic skill. At length Pyrrhus avowed himself convinced, and he accompanied Maximus to Rome, where the pope, Theodore, admitted him to communion, and A.D. 645. treated him as patriarch of Constantinople. But Pyrrhus soon after went to Ravenna, and there (probably under the influence of the exarch, and in the hope of recovering his see) retracted his late professions. On hearing of this relapse, Theodore held a council, at which Pyrrhus was condemned and excommunicated; and in order to give all solemnity to the sentence, the pope subscribed

[r] Nic. Cpol. 19-20; Gibbon, iv. 402.

[s] Nic. Cpol. 21; Theophan. 508; Cedren. 430; Gibbon, iv. 402.

[t] Baron. 640. 5; Dupin, vi. 43; Walch, ix. 194. His works, among which are commentaries on the pseudo-Dionysius, were edited by Combefis, Paris, 1675, and are reprinted in the Patrol. Gr. See the Acta SS., Aug. 13.

[u] Printed at the end of Baronius, vol. xi. See Dorner, ii. 222-3

it in the wine of the eucharistic cup, and laid it on the tomb of St. Peter.[x]

Both John IV.[y] and Theodore had urged the successive emperors to withdraw the Ecthesis, which was still placarded by authority. In 648 Constans put forth a new formulary, which was intended to supersede the Ecthesis, and is known by the name of the *Type* (or Model) of faith. The tone of this document (which was drawn up by the patriarch Paul) is less theological than that of the Ecthesis, and more resembles that of an ordinary imperial decree. While, like the earlier edict, it forbade the discussion of the controversy and the use of the obnoxious terms on both sides, it did so without betraying an inclination to either party; and it enacted severe punishments against all who should break the rule of silence.[z]

Paul had carried on some unsatisfactory correspondence with Rome on the subject of the controversy, when at length Theodore, with a council, declared him excommunicate. On being informed of the sentence, the patriarch overthrew the altar of the papal chapel at Constantinople; he forbade the Roman envoys to celebrate the eucharist, treated them with harshness, and persecuted their partisans.[a] At this stage of the proceedings it was that the Type appeared; but notwithstanding the publication of it, the controversy raged more and more fiercely. Maximus was unceasing and indefatigable in his exertions to stir up opposition to the monothelite doctrines; and Rome was beset by applications from African councils, from Greece, and from other quarters, to act in defence of the faith.[b]

[x] Theophan. 509; Anastas. 138-9. It afterwards became usual, in signing solemn documents, to make the sign of the cross "calamo in pretioso Christi sanguine intincto." Ducange, s. v. *Crux*, p. 679. See Martene, i. 253.

[y] Hard. iii. 614.

[z] Ib. 824-5. See Hefele, iii. 189

[a] Hard. iii. 700.

[b] Ib. 702, 720, 728, 738, &c.; Walch, ix. 208; Neand. v. 257.

In July 649 Theodore was succeeded by Martin, and in October of the same year the new pope held a synod, which, from having met in the "basilica of Constantine,"—the great patriarchal church adjoining the Lateran palace,—is known as the first Lateran council. It was attended by a hundred and five bishops, among whom was the archbishop of Ravenna.[c] In the course of five sessions the history of the controversy was discussed, and the chief documents of it were examined. Stephen of Dor presented a memorial, praying that the errors of monothelism might be rejected, and stating the charge which the patriarch Sophronius had laid on him with regard to it.[d] Passages from the writings of the leading monothelites were confronted with extracts from catholic fathers,[e] and were paralleled with the language of notorious heretics.[f] The Type of Constans was said to place truth and error on the same level, to "destroy the righteous with the wicked;"[g] to leave Christ without will and operation, and therefore without substance and nature.[h] The council declared that there are in the Saviour two natural wills and operations, the Divine and the human,—"the same one Lord Jesus Christ willing and working our salvation both as God and as man."[i] Among the contents of the twenty canons which were passed, the doctrine of two united wills and of two operations was laid down, and an anathema was uttered against all who should deny it.[k] The expression "*one* theandric operation" was denounced,[l] and anathemas were decreed against Theodore of Pharan, Cyrus of Alexandria, and Sergius, Pyrrhus, and Paul of Constan-

[c] The acts, in Hardouin, iii. 687, seqq., embody some documents already quoted.

[d] Hard. iii. 713.

[e] Ib. 771, seqq.; 853, seqq. As the pseudo-Dionysian writings were quoted, Baronius takes occasion to inveigh against the "perfrictam frontem recentiorum hæreticorum," who have impugned them. 649. 19.

[f] Hard. iii. 783, seqq., 891, seqq.

[g] Ib. 825. (Genesis xviii. 23.)

[h] Ib. 700-17.

[i] Ib. 920-1

[k] Cc. 10, 14.

[l] C. 15. See above, p. 423, note [i]

tinople, with the "most impious Ecthesis" and the "most impious Type," which Sergius and Paul respectively had persuaded Heraclius and the reigning emperor to issue.[m] Martin followed up this council by announcing its decisions to the emperor, to the patriarchs, to the bishops of Africa, and to other important persons both in the east and in the west.[n] The pope's language throughout these letters is in a tone of extreme denunciation, although he may perhaps have thought to guard himself against the emperor's resentment by professions of great reverence for his person, and by referring the Ecthesis and the Type to Sergius and Paul as their authors.[o]

While the council was sitting, the exarch Olympius arrived at Rome, with instructions to enforce the signature of the Type, and if possible, to carry off the pope to Constantinople. He did not, however, execute his commission, probably because he meditated a revolt, and was willing to pay court to the papal party; and he was soon after killed in Sicily, on an expedition against the Saracens.[p] Martin, notwithstanding the fresh provocation which he had given to the court, appears to have been left in peace for three years and a half, until a new exarch, Theodore Calliopas, appeared, who seized him and despatched him towards the eastern capital. The tedious journey lasted from the 19th of June 653 to the 17th of September in the following year. The pope was treated without any consideration for his office, his age, or the weakness of his health. Although his conductors often landed for recreation, he was never allowed to leave the vessel except at Naxos, where he remained a year on shore, but debarred from such comfort as he might have received from the visits or from the presents of his friends.

[m] C. 18.
[n] Hard. iii. 625-34, 655, 933, &c.
[o] Schröckh, xx 430.
[p] Anastas. 139; Baron. 649. 49-51; Pagi, xi. 423.

On reaching Constantinople he lay for a day on the deck, exposed to the mockery of the spectators who crowded the quay; and he was then removed to a prison, where he was confined six months.[q] During this time he was subjected to repeated examinations, which, however, did not relate to charges of erroneous doctrine, but to political offences, such as an alleged connexion with Olympius, and even with the Saracens. He was treated with extreme cruelty; he was paraded about the streets as a criminal sentenced to death, and would probably have been executed but for the intercession of the patriarch Paul, who was then dying, and, on receiving a visit from the emperor, expressed his fear lest this unworthy usage of a bishop opposed to him might tell against him at the judgment-day.[r] Martin, who had borne his trials with much dignity and courage, was then banished to Cherson,[s] where he lingered for a time in want of the necessaries of life. Two letters are extant in which he pathetically complains of the neglect in which he was left by his flock, and by the many who had formerly partaken of his bounty.[t] In this exile he died, in September 655.[u]

Maximus, the most learned and most persevering opponent of monothelism, was carried to Constantinople with two disciples in the same year with Martin.[x] A.D. 653. The three were kept in prison until after the banishment of the pope, and were then brought to examination. Against Maximus also an attempt April, 655. was made to establish a political crime by the charge of a connexion with Gregory, governor of Africa,

[q] Accounts by Martin himself and another, in Hardouin, iii. 673, seqq., 688; Pagi, xi. 431, 451-3; Gregorov. ii. 163.

[r] Hard. iii. 683. On the death of Paul, Pyrrhus recovered the patriarchate, but held it only for a few months.

[s] See p. 273.

[t] Hard. iii. 686-8.

[u] Pagi, xi. 464.

[x] Ib. 435. The documents relating to Maximus are printed, with a translation by Anastasius the Librarian, in vol. cxxix. of the Latin 'Patrologia.' See also Acta SS., Aug. 13.

who had revolted.[y] But the accusations were chiefly of a theological or ecclesiastical kind. Among other things, it was imputed to him that he had offended against the imperial privileges by denying that the emperor possessed the priesthood; by uttering an anathema against the Type, which was construed into anathematizing the emperor himself; and by denying that the imperial confirmation gave validity to canons. To these heads he answered, that the emperor could not be a priest, inasmuch as he did not administer the sacraments, and was spoken of as a layman in the offices of the church; that his anathema against the Type applied only to the false doctrine which it contained; and that, if councils became valid by the emperor's confirmation, it would be necessary to receive the Arian councils to which such sanction had been given.[z] "Are you alone to be saved," it was asked, "and are all others to perish?" "God forbid," he answered, "that I should condemn any one, or should claim salvation for myself only! But I would rather die than have on my conscience the misery of erring in any way as to the faith."[a] Maximus and his companions were inflexible in their opinions, although kindness as well as severity was employed in order to influence them, and although they were pressed by the authority of the new pope Eugenius, who had complied with the wishes of the court.[b] They were sent into exile at Bizya in Thrace; and, after having been there subjected to great severities, were again carried to Constantinople, where they underwent a fresh examination.[c] Their invincible constancy was punished by the loss of their tongues and of their right hands; they were banished to Lazica; and after a time they were separated, for the purpose of

[y] Patrol. cxxix. 603.
[z] Ib. 609, 611, 613.
[a] Ib. 611-13.
[b] Ib. 613. Eugenius had been chosen during the lifetime of Martin. See Hefele, iii. 215.
[c] Patrol. cxxix. 619-21.

adding to their sufferings. Maximus sank under the cruel treatment which he received in August 662 ; one of his disciples (who both bore the name of Anastasius) is said, notwithstanding his mutilations, to have still effectively served the faith, both by speech and by active correspondence, until his death in 666.[d]

Constans II., by whose authority these barbarities were sanctioned, had put his own brother to death, and by this and other acts had provoked the detestation of his eastern subjects. Yielding to the general feeling, he withdrew from Constantinople in the year 663, and visited Rome, where he was received with great honour by the bishop, Vitalian.[e] After having stripped off the brazen roof of the Pantheon (which had been a church since the reign of Phocas), and having plundered it and other churches of their precious ornaments, the emperor passed into Sicily, where he indulged his tyranny and vices without control, until in 668 he was murdered in a bath at Syracuse.[f] The fate of pope Martin had disposed his successors, Eugenius and Vitalian, to peaceful courses, and the controversy smouldered until Adeodatus, the successor of Vitalian, again broke off communion with Constantinople ;[g] whereupon the patriarchs Theodore of Constantinople and Macarius of Antioch excited a commotion by attempting to strike out of their diptychs the name of Vitalian, the only recent pope who had been commemorated in them.[h] A.D. 672-677.

The son and successor of Constans, Constantine IV., who is styled Pogonatus (the Bearded), was distressed by the divisions of the church, and resolved to attempt a remedy. He therefore wrote A.D. 678.

[d] Patrol. cxxix. 657, 683 ; Pagi, xi. 503-4, 519-20 ; Hefele, iii. 205-14.

[e] Anastas. 141 ; Muratori, A.D. 663. Baronius makes amusing excuses for this 663. 3-5.

[f] Theophan. 538 ; Paul Warnef. Hist. Langob. vi. 11 ; Anastas. 141.

[g] Neand. v. 266.

[h] Walch, ix. 376. See Hard. 1163, 1167.

to Donus, bishop of Rome, desiring him to send some delegates to Constantinople for the purpose of conferring on the subjects in dispute.[l] Before this letter arrived at Rome, Donus had been succeeded by Agatho, who on receiving it assembled a council. Among the hundred and twenty-five prelates who attended, were the Lombard primate Mansuetus of Milan, two Frankish bishops, and Wilfrid of York; the rest were subjects of the empire.[k] Monothelism was condemned, and two prelates with a deacon were sent to Constantinople as representatives of the pope, bearing with them a letter to the emperor, which was intended to serve a like purpose with Leo's famous epistle to Flavian in the Eutychian controversy;[l] while the council was represented by three bishops, with other clerks and monks.[m] The pope in his letter expresses regret that the unquiet circumstances of Italy prevented the possibility of deep theological study, and professes to rely not on the learning of his deputies, but on their faithfulness to the doctrine of earlier councils and fathers.[n]

June, 678.

A.D. 680.

Constantine now determined, instead of the conference which had been intended, to summon an "ecumenical" synod—by which term, however, it would seem that he meant nothing more than one which should represent the whole empire; for no subjects of other governments were present.[o] This assembly — which is reckoned as the sixth general council, and third council of Constantinople[p] — met in a room of the palace, which from its domed roof was styled Trullus.[q] The sessions

[l] Hard. iii. 1043-7.

[k] See Inett, i. 92, seqq. Pagi places the council in 679; Jaffé and Hefele (iii. 229), in March 680. For Wilfrid, see the next chapter.

[l] Dorner, ii. 229, 248. See pp. 212, 223

[m] Hard. iii. 1076-7.

[n] Ib. 1077.

[o] Ib. 1049; Walch, ix. 391.

[p] The sixth is the last which any Anglican writers acknowledge as a general council.

[q] Hard. iii. 1055. On the word, see Baron. 680. 41, with Pagi's notes: Hefele, iii. 236.

were eighteen in number, and lasted from the 7th of November 680 to the 16th of December in the following year. The emperor presided in person at the first eleven sessions and at the last;[r] in his absence, the presidential chair was unoccupied. At the earlier meetings the number of bishops was small; but it gradually rose to nearly two hundred. Among them were the patriarch of Constantinople and Macarius of Antioch (whose dignity, in consequence of the Saracen conquest of his province, was little better than titular);[s] while the sees of Alexandria and Jerusalem were represented by two presbyters. Twelve high officers of the empire and some monks were also present.[t]

The proceedings were conducted with a decency and an impartiality of which there had been little example in former assemblies of the kind, and the emperor sustained his part in a very creditable manner.[u] The principal documents of the controversy were read, and extracts from the writings of the monothelites were compared with passages intended to refute or to support them, or to prove their identity in substance with heresies which had been already condemned.[x] At the eighth session the patriarch of Constantinople professed his adhesion to the views of Agatho and the Roman synod, and the bishops of his patriarchate followed the example.[y] But Macarius of Antioch still maintained the doctrine of a single theandric will and operation—that as the mind moves the body, so in Christ the divine will directed the humanity.[z] He

March 7, 681.

[r] Pighius, a Romanist, ventures to call the genuineness of the acts in question on account of the part thus ascribed to the emperor! Walch, ix 388-9.

[s] See Giesel. I. ii. 470.

[t] Hard. iii. 1056.

[u] Walch, ix. 428; Schröckh, xx. 445; Giesel. I. ii. 475.

[x] Hard. iii. 1152-4; 1202, seqq.; 1226-1304.

[y] Ib. 1157, 1163-6.

[z] Ib. 1171. Macarius held that this was consistent with the Chalcedonian doctrine of the two natures, inasmuch as the one nature was active, and the other was a passive instrument. Dorner, ii. 207, 221

produced a collection of authorities in favour of his opinion; but the council, after examining these, pronounced them to be spurious or garbled, or, where genuine, to be misapplied,—as when words which had really been used to express the relations of the Divine Persons in the Trinity were transferred to the relations of the Saviour's Godhead and manhood.[a] As the Syrian patriarch persisted in his opinion, declaring that he could not abandon it even on pain of being cut in pieces and cast into the sea, he was deposed and excommunicated, with a disciple named Stephen; and, while the emperor was hailed as a new Constantine the Great, a new Theodosius, a new Marcian, anathemas were loudly uttered against Macarius, as a second Apollinaris and Dioscorus.[b]

The fifteenth session was marked by a singular incident. An aged monk named Polychronius presented a confession of faith, and undertook to prove its correctness by raising a dead man to life. He said that he had seen a vision, in which a person of dazzling brightness and of terrible majesty had told him that whosoever did not confess a single will and theandric operation was not to be acknowledged as a Christian. The synod adjourned to the court of a public bath, and a corpse was brought in on a bier. Polychronius laid his creed on the dead man's breast, and for a long time whispered into his ears; no miracle, however, followed. The multitude, who had been admitted to witness this strange experiment, shouted out anathemas against Polychronius as a deceiver and a new Simon; but his confidence in his opinions was unshaken by his failure, and the synod found it necessary to depose him.[c]

April 26, 681.

[a] Hard. iii. 1149, 1175, seqq. See Hefele, iii. 115-18.

[b] Hard. iii. 1166, 1175, 1182, 1198, 327-8, 1413.

[c] Ib. 1374-8 Rufinus relates that the famous monk Macarius the elder confuted a heretic by raising a dead man to life. (Hist. Monach. 28, in Patrol. xxi.) Macarius of Antioch, Polychronius, and others were sent to Rome, where two of the party retracted, and were absolved by Leo II.;

The faith on the subject in dispute was at length defined. The monothelites were condemned as holding a heresy akin to those of Apollinaris, Severus, and Themistius; as destroying the perfection of our Lord's humanity by denying it a will and an operation.[d] The doctrine of the incarnation was laid down according to the earlier decisions of the church; and to this it was added,—"We in like manner, agreeably to the teaching of the holy fathers, declare that in Him there are two natural wills and two natural operations, without division, change, separation, or confusion. And these two natural wills are not contrary, as impious heretics pretend; but the human follows the divine and almighty will, not resisting or opposing it, but rather being subject to it; for, according to the most wise Athanasius, it was needful that the will of his flesh should be moved, but that it should be subjected to his divine will. . . . As his flesh, although deified, was not destroyed by his Godhead, so too his human will, although deified, was not destroyed."[e] An anathema was pronounced against the chief leaders of the monothelites. The name of Honorius had been unnoticed by the Roman councils—a fact which significantly proves that, while desirous to spare his memory, they did not approve of the part which he had taken in the controversy. John IV., in his letter to Constantine, the son of Heraclius, had endeavoured to clear his predecessor by the plea that he had only meant to deny the existence of two *contrary* wills in the Saviour, "forasmuch as in his humanity the will was not corrupted as it is in ours;"[f] and Maximus, in his conference with Pyrrhus, had been unwilling to give the monothelites the benefit of a Roman bishop's authority.[g] But the general council, after exa-

but the others, being obstinate, were imprisoned in monasteries. Anastas. de Leone II. (Patrol. cxxviii. 847.)

[d] Hard. iii. 1398-9.

[e] Ib. 1400.

[f] Ib. 611. Against this plea, see Walch, ix. 127-32; Hefele, iii. 149.

[g] Max. ap. Baron. xi. 645.

mining the letters of Honorius, declared that "in all things he had followed the opinions of Sergius and had sanctioned his impious doctrines"; and the monothelite pope was included in its anathema.[h]

The decisions of the council were confirmed by the emperor, and severe penalties were enacted against all who should contravene them.[i] Pope Agatho died in January 682, while his legates were still at Constantinople; but his successor, Leo II., zealously exerted himself to procure the reception of the council by the churches of the

[h] Hard. iii. 1331-4. In a profession of faith to be required of a pope, according to the 'Liber Diurnus,' the condemnation of Honorius is inserted (Patrol. cv. 55). The case of this pope has caused great difficulty to some Roman controversialists. Baronius pretends that the acts of the council are interpolated, and that the name of Honorius has been substituted in them for that of Theodore, the predecessor of George in the patriarchate of Constantinople (681. 13-21; 682. 4). The groundlessness of this is shown by Pagi, who himself maintains that Honorius was personally orthodox, and that he was condemned only on account of his "economy" in attempting to stifle the discussion of the question (xi. 31-32) Bellarmine (De Rom. Pont. v. 11), Garnier (Dissert. ii. in Lib. Diurn. Patrol. cv.), Pétau (De Incarn. I xxi. 144), Combefis (in Auctar. Bibl. Patrum. iii.), Muratori (Annali, IV. i. 108), Alexandre Noël (x. 463-8), and others take a (more or less) similar line, and are refuted by Walch, ix. 409-18; Schröckh, xx. 446-8; Gieseler, I. ii. 477-8; Dorner, 217-20. There is an essay in favour of Honorius by Molkenbuhr (Patrol. lxxx.). In our own time, Döllinger (Kircheng. i. 157-8; Papst-Fabeln, 131-51) and Hefele (Conciliengesch. iii. 150-2, 264-84; 'Honorius u. d. 6te allgem. Concil,' Tübing. 1870) handle the matter with great candour, and give up the pope, although they suppose that he thought more soundly than he expressed himself; even Rohrbacher can only excuse him by representing him as the dupe of Sergius, and concludes his remarks on the subject by saying that "Nous y voyons un avertissement divin à tous ses successeurs, de bien peser les paroles de leurs écrits, et de ne jamais traiter légèrement les questions de doctrine." (x. 88, 167-8, 381.) For the history of opinion as to Honorius, see Döllinger, Papst-Fabeln, 138, seqq., who says that throughout the middle ages it was supposed that a pope might fall into heresy, and in such a case ought to be deposed—the contrary opinion dating only from Baronius and Bellarmine. 145. (Thus Humbert de Romanis, general of the Dominicans, about 1270, says, "Etiam si esset papa hæreticus, deponeretur."—De Erudit. Prædicatorum, ii. 62, in Bibl. Patr. xxv.) [The question as to the orthodoxy of Honorius was brought into a new prominence by the Vatican Council of 1869-70, on account of its bearing on the subject of papal infallibility. Among the writings then published, those of the late Abbé Gratry are remarkable as showing how the case is habitually glossed over in the education of the French clergy.]

[i] Hard. iii. 1445-57.

west. In letters to the emperor, to the Spanish bishops, and to others, Leo expressed his approval of the condemnation of Honorius, on the ground that that pope, instead of "purifying the apostolic church by the doctrine of apostolical tradition," had "yielded its spotlessness to be defiled by profane betrayal of the faith.[k]

The last two general councils, unlike those of earlier times, had confined themselves to matters of faith, and had not passed any canons relating to other subjects. In order to supply this defect, Justinian II., who in 685 succeeded his father Constantine Pogonatus,[l] assembled a new synod, which is known by the name of Trullan, from having been held in the same domed hall with the general council, and by that of Quinisext, as being supplementary to the fifth and sixth councils.[m] Its hundred and two canons were subscribed by the emperor and by the four eastern patriarchs; and immediately after the imperial signature, a space was left for that of Sergius, bishop of Rome. It does not appear whether Sergius had been invited to send special deputies to the council;[n] his two ordinary representatives at Constantinople subscribed, and Basil, metropolitan of Gortyna in Crete, professed to sign as representing the "whole synod of the Roman church."[o] But among the canons were six

[k] Hard. iii. 1476. So he elsewhere says that Honorius "flammam hæretici dogmatis non, ut decuit apostolicam auctoritatem, incipientem extinxit, sed negligendo confovit" (1730). Baronius has recourse to his familiar device of declaring the letters to be forged (683. 14). Pagi owns their genuineness, but says that Honorius is censured in them only for supineness and connivance—not for heresy. But, even if Leo's words did not necessarily imply more than this, his meaning certainly went further, since he unreservedly recommends the decisions of the council, and names Honorius with Theodore of Pharan, Sergius, etc., among those who were condemned as traitors to the faith. (1730.) See Hefele, iii. 279, seqq.

[l] Gibbon, iv. 405.

[m] The most probable date is 691 (Pagi, xii. 120; Hefele, iii. 299). Some place it in 692 (see Walch, ix. 44); others, as early as 686 (see Hefele, l. c.); Hardouin, as late as 706.

[n] Schröckh, xix. 509. See the Acta SS., Sept. 9, p. 436.

[o] Hard. iii. 1697-9. On these signatures see Pagi, xii. 122; De Marca, V. x. 3; Hefele, iii. 314.

which offended the pope, as inconsistent with the rights or the usages of his church.[p] The 2nd, in enumerating the earlier canons which were *exclusively* to be observed, sanctioned eighty-five under the name of apostolical, whereas Rome admitted only fifty;[q] and it omitted many synods which were of authority in the west, together with the whole body of papal decretals. The 13th allowed those of the clergy who had married before their ordination as subdeacons to retain their wives.[r] The 36th renewed the decrees of the second and fourth general councils as to the privileges of the see of Constantinople. The 55th ordered that the "apostolical" canon which forbade fasting on any Saturday except Easter-eve should be extended to Rome, where all the Saturdays of Lent had until then been fast-days. The 67th forbade the eating of blood. The 82nd prescribed that the Saviour should be represented in his human form, and not under the symbolical figure of a lamb.[s] In contradicting Roman usages, the 13th and 55th canons expressly stated that they were such, and required the Roman church to abandon them; it would seem, indeed, as if the eastern bishops were bent, as at Chalcedon, on moderating the triumph of Rome in the late doctrinal question by legislating on other matters in a manner which would be unpalatable to the pope;[t] and the reception of these canons by the east only, where they were quoted as the work of the sixth general council, was the first manifest step towards the separation of the Greek and Latin churches.[u]

[p] Schröckh, xix. 508; Giesel. I. ii. 480.

[q] See Drey, 'Constitut. u. Kanones der Apostel,' 203-9, 419. In the decree of Gelasius as to books allowed or forbidden (see above, p. 364), the whole of the apostolic canons are condemned. Patrol. lix. 163.

[r] From this time the bishops of the Greek church were chosen from among the monks. Finlay, ii. 113.

[s] "MM. Raoul-Rochette and Didron observe, that the council wished to effect an entire substitution of history for symbolism" (Lord Lindsay on Christian Art, i. 72), and from about this time Raoul-Rochette dates the introduction of the crucifix (ibid. 91). See above, p. 51.

[t] Giesel. I. ii. 479.

[u] Ib. 481. Pope John VIII. (A.D. 872-92) sanctioned such of the Trullan

On receiving the canons, Sergius declared that he would rather die than consent to them. The protospathary Zacharias was commissioned to seize him and send him to Constantinople. But a rising of the people, and even of the soldiery, who looked more to the bishop of Rome than to their distant imperial master, compelled Zacharias in abject terror to seek the protection of his intended prisoner.[x] About the same time, the vices of Justinian, the exorbitant taxation which was required to feed his expenses, and the cruelties which were committed in his name by his ministers, the eunuch Stephen and the monk Theodosius, provoked a revolt, by which a general named Leontius was raised to the throne. From regard for the memory of Constantine Pogonatus, Leontius spared the life of Justinian;[y] but the deposed emperor's nose was cut off (a mutilation which had become common in the east), and he was banished to the inhospitable Chersonese.[z]

A.D. 695.

Leontius, after a reign of three years, was put down by Tiberius Apsimar, and was committed to a monastery. The Chersonites, in fear that the schemes which Justinian was undisguisedly forming for the recovery of his throne might draw on them the suspicion and anger of the new emperor, resolved to put the exile to death or to send him to Constantinople; but the design became known to him, and he sought a refuge among the Chazars of the Ukraine, where he married a sister of the reigning prince. Even among these remote barbarians, however, he found that he was in danger from the negotiations of Apsimar; and his desperation

A.D. 705.

canons as were not contrary to the Roman decrees or canons, or to good morals. (Anast. Præf. ad Synod. vii. Patrol. cxxix. 196.) See the Preface to Theodore the Studite, in Sirmond, Opera Varia, tom. v., b. c., and Nat. Alexand. x. 473, seqq.

[x] Anastas. 149. See Gregorov. ii. 208-9.

[y] Niceph. Cpol. 26. Schlosser questions this motive, but seemingly without reason. 109.

[z] Theophan. 562-6.

urged him to attempt the execution of the design which he had seemed to have abandoned.[a] While crossing the Euxine in a violent storm, his companions exhorted him, as a means of obtaining deliverance, to promise that, if restored to the empire, he would forgive his enemies. "May the Lord drown me here," he replied, "if I spare one of them!" and when his daring enterprise had been crowned with success, the vow was terribly fulfilled. Leontius was brought forth from his monastery; he and Apsimar were laid prostrate in the circus, and, as the emperor looked on the games, his feet pressed the necks of his fallen rivals, while the multitude shouted the words of the 91st Psalm—"Thou shalt tread upon the lion and the adder." The two were then dragged about the streets of the city, and at length were beheaded.[b] All who had taken part in the expulsion of Justinian were mercilessly punished; many of them were tied up in sacks and were cast into the sea. The patriarch Callinicus, who had been driven by the tyrant's oppression to favour the rebellion of Leontius, was deprived of his eyes and nose, and was banished to Rome.[c] For some unknown reason, Felix, archbishop of Ravenna, was blinded, deposed, and sent into exile in Pontus;[d] and Constantine of Rome—the last of seven Greek refugees from the Mahometan conquests who successively filled the see[e]—might well have trembled when in 710 he was summoned to Constantinople. Perhaps Justinian may have required the pope's presence with a view of enforcing the Trullan council on the west; perhaps he may have meant to secure his own authority in Italy against a repetition of such scenes as that which had taken place in the pontifi-

[a] Niceph. Cpol. 27.

[b] Theophan. 574; G. Hamart. pp. 622-3; Schlosser, 110-14.

[c] Nic. Cpol. 28; Pagi, xii. 191; Gibbon, iv. 406-8.

[d] Agnellus, in Patrol. cvi. 704; Muratori, A.D. 709. See Gregorov. ii. 209. Felix was restored by Philippicus. Agnell. 707.

[e] The election of so many Greeks seems to indicate an influence of the exarchs. Murat. A.D. 705.

cate of Sergius.[f] But Constantine's ready and courageous obedience appears to have disarmed the tyrant. Justinian received the pope as an equal; it is even said that, at the first meeting, he fell down and kissed his feet;[g] and Constantine returned home with a confirmation of all the privileges of his church. It has been conjectured that these favours were not obtained without the pope's consenting to the canons of the quinisext council in so far as they were not directly contrary to the Roman traditions.[h]

Justinian's abuse of his recovered power excited his subjects to a fresh rebellion, which began by an outbreak of the Chersonites, on whom he had intended to avenge by an exemplary cruelty the treachery which they had meditated against him during his exile.[i] In 711 he was again dethroned and was put to death. His young son Tiberius, who had been crowned as Augustus, fled to the church of the Blachernæ, hung the relics which were regarded as most sacred around his neck, and clasped the altar with one hand and the cross with the other; but a leader of the insurgents pursued him into the sanctuary, plucked the cross from him, transferred the relics to his own neck, and dragged the boy to the door of the church, where he was immediately slain. Thus ended the dynasty of Heraclius, about a hundred years after the accession of its founder.[k]

The revolution raised to the throne an adventurer named Bardanes, who on his accession took the name of

[f] Giesel. I. ii. 488; Milman, ii. 142. In 706, Justinian had sent the Trullan canons to John VII., desiring him to lay them before a council, and to accept or reject them in detail; but the pope, "humana fragilitate timidus," declined the task, and sent them back untouched. He died soon after. Anastas. in Patrol. cxxxviii. 930; Murat. A.D. 706.

[g] Anastas. 153. Dean Milman regards this as a western fiction, ii. 85.

[h] Anast. 153; Pagi, xii. 220; Murat. Ann. IV. i. 292-3; Schröckh, xix. 514-15. As to the treatment of the council by later popes, see Hefele, iii. 317.

[i] Nic. Cpol. 29-30; Schlosser, 119 23.

[k] Nic. Cpol. 31; Theophan. 583; Gibbon, iv. 408-9; Schlosser, 124-5.

Philippicus. Bardanes was of a monothelite family, and his early impressions in favour of the heresy had been confirmed by the lessons of Stephen, the associate of Macarius of Antioch.[l] It is said that, many years before, he had been told by a hermit that he was one day to be emperor; and that he had vowed, if the prophecy should be fulfilled, to abrogate the sixth general council.[m] He refused to enter the palace of Constantinople until a picture of the council should have been removed; he publicly burnt the original copy of its acts, ordered the names of Honorius, Sergius, and the others whom it had condemned, to be inserted in the diptychs,[n] ejected the orthodox patriarch Cyrus, and required the bishops to subscribe a monothelite creed. The order was generally obeyed in the east, but at Rome it met with different treatment. Pope Constantine refused to receive it; the people would not allow the emperor to be named in the mass, nor his portrait to be admitted into a church, where instead of it they hung up a representation of the sixth council; and, on the arrival of a newly-appointed commander from Constantinople, an outbreak took place, which was only suppressed by the pope's interposition on the side of authority.[o] Philippicus, after a reign of a year and a half, during which he had given himself up to extravagance and debauchery, was deposed and blinded. His successor, Anastasius, was a catholic; and John, who had been intruded into the patriarchate of Constantinople on the deprivation of Cyrus, now sued for the communion of Rome, professing that he had always been orthodox at heart, and that his compliance with the late heretical government had arisen from a wish to prevent the appointment of a

A.D. 713.

[l] Agatho Diac. ap. Hard. iii. 1836; Walch, ix. 430. See p. 436.

[m] Theophan. 581.

[n] An account of these proceedings is given by a deacon named Agatho, who had written the original acts. Hard. iii. 1136, seqq.

[o] Anastas. 153; Schlosser, 127.

real monothelite.[p] The pope's answer is not known; but in 715 John was deprived, and Germanus, bishop of Cyzicum, was appointed to the patriarchal chair.[q] Anastasius was dethroned in 716 by Theodosius III., and Theodosius, in the following year, by Leo the Isaurian, whose reign witnessed the commencement of a new and important controversy.

The readiness with which the formulary of Philippicus was received by the eastern bishops and clergy may be regarded not only as a token of their subserviency, but also as indicating that the monothelite party at that time possessed considerable strength.[r] The public profession of monothelism, however, soon became extinct, its only avowed adherents being the Maronite community in Syria. A monastery, dedicated to a saint named Maron,[s] stood between Apamea and Emesa as early as the sixth century; and in the end of the seventh it was under the government of another Maron, who died in 701.[t] The name of Maronites, which originally belonged to the members of this monastery, was gradually extended to all the inhabitants of the district of Lebanon,[u] a population chiefly composed of refugees from the Saracen conquests. Among these the monothelite opinions were held; and, while the other Christian communities of Syria had each its political attachment—the Jacobites being connected with the Mahometan conquerors, and the catholics (or Melchites) with the emperor—the Maronites preserved their independence, together with their peculiar doctrines, under the successors of Maron,

[p] Hard. iii. 1837. Pagi defends the patriarch's "economy." xii. 234.

[q] Baron. 714. 3-4; Pagi, xii. 255-61.

[r] Giesel. I. ii. 482.

[s] See Theodoret, Hist. Relig. 16. Procopius mentions that Justinian I. repaired the convent wall. De Ædif. v. 9.

[t] Schröckh, xx. 452-4.

[u] See Walch, ix. 477. Against the identification of Maronites with *Mardaites* (as by Walch, ix. 485; Schröckh, xix. 44; xx. 454), see Giesel. I. ii. 483.

who styled themselves patriarchs of Antioch. Thus the community continued until, in the age of the crusades, they submitted to the Latin patriarch of Antioch, and conformed to the Roman church,[1] which in later times has been indebted to the Maronites for many learned men.[y]

A.D. 1182.

[1] They were then about 40,000 in number. Will. Tyr. xxii. 8 (Patrol. cci.); Jac. Vitriac. ap. Bongars, 1094; Gibbon, iv. 383-5; Wilken, ii. 204.

[y] Of these the Assemanni are the most famous. They and other Maronites attempt to clear their ancestors from the charge of monothelism. But Pagi (xi. 311-13, 602-4; xii. 77; xviii. 211-12) is said to be the only considerable non-Maronite authority among the Romanists who takes this view. See Walch, ix. 476; Schröckh, xx. 454-6; Döllinger, i. 16; Herzog, art *Maroniten*.

END OF VOL. II.

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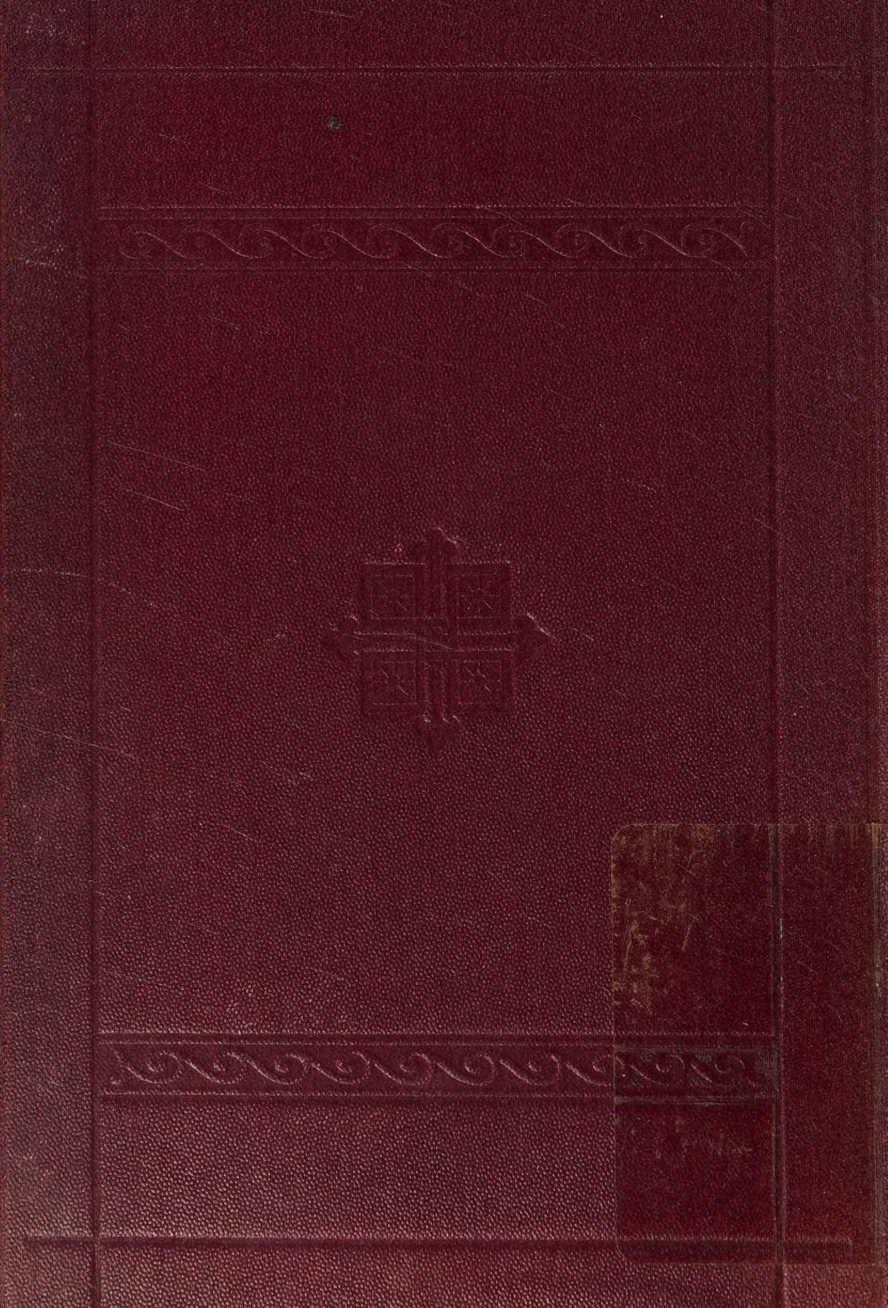
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